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ABSTRACT

Urbanization is sometimes defined as a process of population concentration that requires both growth in the size of cities and multiplication of their numbers. This demographic approach seems to neglect two other important aspects of urbanization: namely, economic and social. The economic dimension consists of structural change in the productive forces, which include specialization and the division of labor; and the social aspect entails modernization and noneconomic transformations. A suitable definition of urbanization must take all these processes into account. In this report, all aspects will be considered, with an emphasis on objectivity. [For related documents in this series, see UD 013 731-UD 013 741 and UD 013 743-013 744 for surveys of specific countries. For special studies analyzing urbanization in the Third World, see UD 013 745-UD 013 748.] (Author/SB)

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An International
Urbanization Survey Report
to the Ford Foundation

Urbanization in Turkey

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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This working paper was prepared as supportive material for an International Survey of Urbanization in the developing countries, which was organized by the Ford Foundation late in 1970 and was completed late in 1972. The purpose of the Survey was to provide findings and recommendations to guide the Foundation in making informed judgments on its future participation in programs related to the urban condition in the less-developed countries.

The Survey was directed neither to perform nor to commission original research. Its work was to be reportorial, analytic, and indicative of program choices. To serve these objectives, the Survey was essentially a field operation in which the staff travelled widely in the countries where the Foundation maintains field offices and drew not only upon its own observations but upon the experience of Foundation personnel assigned to the developing countries. The staff's own field notes on phases of urbanization in specific countries were expanded into working papers both to record observations and to clarify the deductive processes and the analyses of data which were to form a demonstrable basis for the Survey's conclusions. Additional working papers were provided by Foundation personnel with a depth of field knowledge, and by consultants expert either in specific countries or in topics of special interest.

The Survey working papers and special studies were originally intended only for internal use. It became evident, however, that the body of material had values which argued for wider exposure. Accordingly the Foundation is publishing the papers for those with special country or topical interests and for those interested in the material as a whole.

The working papers carry disclaimers appropriate to the circumstances of their preparation and to the limitations of their original purpose. The reader should not expect to find in them either the product of original research or a comprehensive treatment of the processes of urbanization in the particular country. Rather, they are occasional papers whose unity derives from their use as exemplary and illustrative material for the Survey.

But unity of form and substance is not the measure of their value. Each report and special study is an essay on some aspect of urbanization in the developing countries. In most instances, they are what a good essay should be—unmistakably personalized and therefore reflective of the insights and the convictions of informed authors.

The International Urbanization Survey

John P. Robin, Director
Colin Rosser
Frederick C. Terzo

ED 079461

Urbanization in Turkey

by

Rusen Keles

International Urbanization Survey
The Ford Foundation

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Demography of Urbanization	1
Growth Centers	6
The Pace of Urbanization	8
Causes of Urbanization	11
Demographic Characteristics of the Population	16
Family Planning	18
Planning	19
Urbanization in the Development Plan	20
Regional Disparities and Regional Planning	22
Rural-Urban Differences	26
Regional Development Policy	28
Plans and Planning Administration	33
City Development Plans	40
Regional Planning Projects	42
New Towns: The Case of Ankara	50
Planning Education	55
Technical Assistance	66
Research Institutions	71
Infrastructure and Management	74
Urban Public Services	74
Housing	81
Governmental and Civic Centers	88
Conservation and Open Spaces	90

Page

Air Pollution 93

Urban Land Problems and Policies 95

Revenues from Land Resources 106

Central-Local Relationships 114

The Bank of Local Authorities 117

Metropolitanization 119

Problems of the Squatter Areas 121

Minorities 133

Public Works 134

Rural Development 135

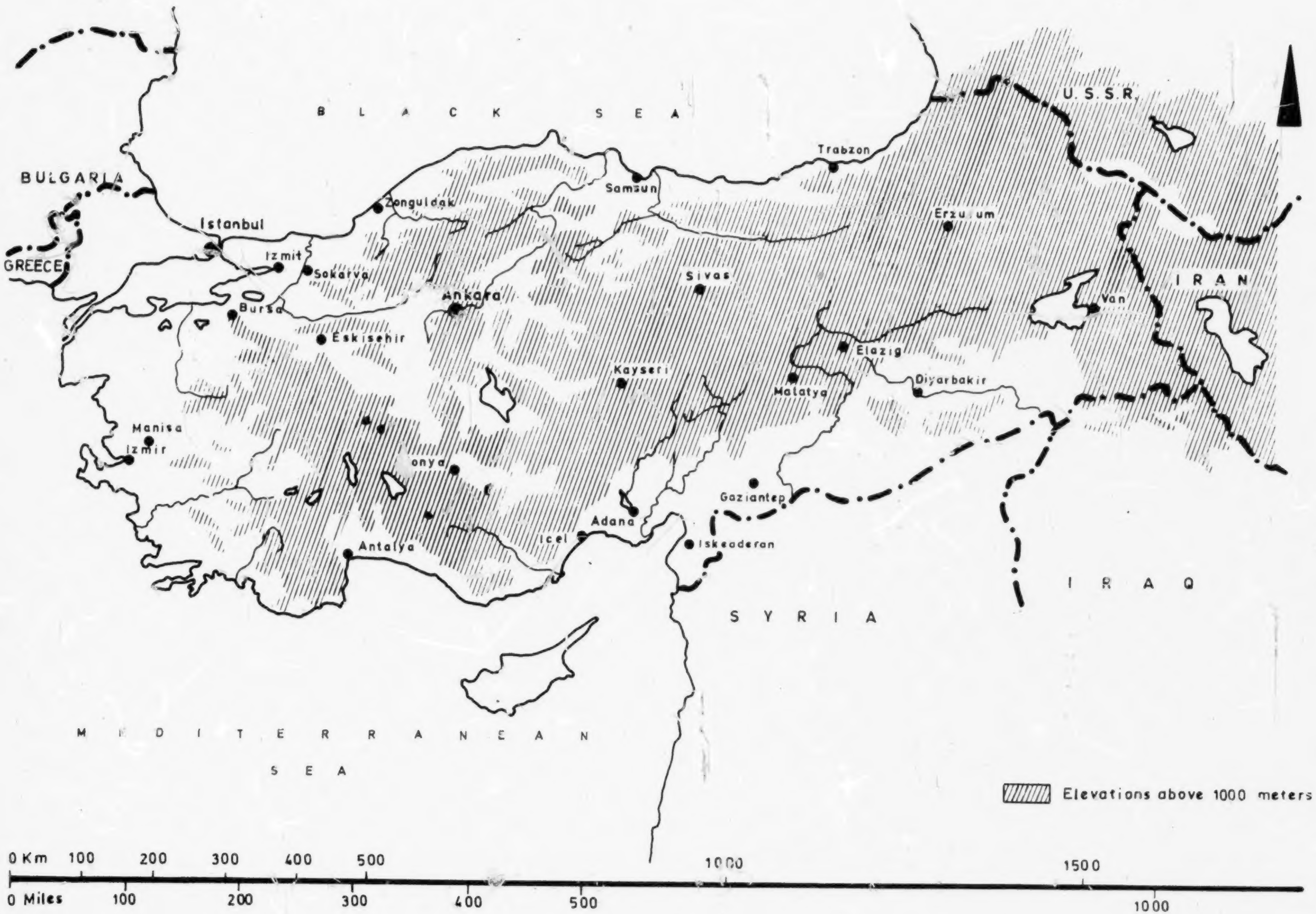
Public Opinion and Ecology 140

The Role of International Agencies 142

Economic Constraints 143

Conclusions 148

Selected Bibliography 162


BLACK SEA
U.S.S.R.
BULGARIA
GREECE
IRAN
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SYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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Sokarya
Zonguldak
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Erzurum
Sivas
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INTERNATIONAL URBANIZATION SURVEY — URBANIZATION IN TURKEY

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is sometimes defined as a process of population concentration that requires both growth in the size of cities and multiplication of their numbers. This demographic approach seems to neglect two other important aspects of urbanization: namely, economic and social. The economic dimension consists of structural change in the productive forces, which includes specialization and the division of labor; and the social aspect entails moderinization and non-economic transformations. A suitable definition of urbanization must take all these processes into account. In this report all aspects with be considered, with an emphasis on objectivity.

DEMOGRAPHY OF URBANIZATION

There are five major cities with populations over 250,000 in Turkey today--Istanbul (2,247,630), Ankara (1,208,791), Izmir (520,686), Adana (351,655), and Bursa (275,917), according to the provisional results of the 1970 census. The total population of these five cities represents 40.2 per cent of Turkey's urban population. According to the criterion generally accepted in Turkey, cities with populations of 100,000 or more are considered major cities, and out of 230 cities with populations over 10,000, only 20 fall within this category. The increase in the number of such major cities is shown in the following table:

NO. OF MAJOR CITIES WITH POPULATIONS 100,000 OR MORE

Years	1927	1935	1940	1945	1950
Numbers	2	3	3	4	5
Years	1955	1960	1965	1970	1985
Numbers	6	9	14	20	52

Cities in this group are continuously receiving an increasing portion of the urban population; that is to say, the urbanization movement in Turkey is directed primarily towards them. According to projections based on future investment potentialities, it is estimated that the trend to migrate towards big centers will continue, and that 75 per cent of the urban population will be living in cities of more than 100,000 by 1985, whereas this figure is only 56.8 per cent today. Again, it is estimated that by the same year there will be ten cities with populations over half a million: Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Eskisehir, Gaziantep, Erzurum, Izmit, Malatya and Adapazari.

SHARE OF LARGE CITIES (100,000 OR MORE) IN URBAN POPULATION

Years	1927	1935	1940	1945	1950
Percentage of urban population	38.8	38.5	35.3	40.3	44.6

Years	1955	1960	1965	1970	1985
Percentage of urban population	45.7	48.4	50.7	56.8	75.2

In the smaller-size groups, the percentages of urban population are 11.4 per cent for the 50,000-100,000 group, 18.1 per cent for the 20,000-50,000 group, and 13.7 per cent for the 10,000-20,000 group. The rate of population growth varies for the urban population in general as well as for the major cities as defined above. Population growth rates of the different categories are illustrated in the following table:

ANNUAL AVERAGE RATES OF POPULATION GROWTH IN URBAN AREAS (1927-1970) PER CENT

Census Periods	Total Pop.	Urban Pop.	Cities of 100,000 or more	Cities of 250,000 or more	Absolute increase in major cities; absolute increase in urban pop.
1927-35	2.1	2.9	3.2	1.5	42.4
1935-40	2.0	4.1	2.3	1.4	22.7
1940-45	1.1	1.3	4.0	1.7	116.6
1945-50	2.2	2.6	5.0	15.1	78.3
1950-55	2.8	7.4	8.1	6.7	48.9
1955-60	2.9	6.3	7.8	7.0	56.8
1960-65	2.5	6.7	8.0	4.5	57.7
1965-70	2.6	5.5	8.6	7.5	78.5

When the growth rates of the first five major cities are compared, it can be seen that the populations of almost all of them have tripled during the last twenty years:

GROWTH RATES OF THE FIVE MAJOR CITIES (1950: 100)

Cities	1950	1970
Istanbul	100	229
Ankara	100	419
Izmir	100	231
Adana	100	299
Bursa	100	266

Urban Population and Urban Settlements in Turkey by Size Groups

	1927			1935			1940		
Size Groups	Urban Pop.	%	No. of Cities	Urban Pop.	%	No. of Cities	Urban Pop.	%	No. of Cities
10,000-20,000	533,762	24.0	38	576,881	21.5	43	765,321	23.8	57
20,000-50,000	646,722	28.9	23	820,771	30.6	30	921,674	28.7	31
50,000-100,000	208,820	9.3	3	251,718	9.4	4	392,523	12.2	6
100,000 +	844,781	37.8	2	1,034,827	38.5	3	1,154,953	35.3	3
Total	2,234,085	100.0	66	2,684,197	100.0	80	3,234,471	100.0	97

	1945			1950			1955		
10,000-20,000	797,116	23.2	58	835,866	21.6	61	972,661	18.3	67
20,000-50,000	862,315	25.0	30	918,077	23.6	30	1,154,432	21.7	37
50,000-100,000	396,018	11.5	6	397,275	10.2	6	763,138	14.3	11
100,000 +	1,386,446	40.3	4	1,732,647	44.6	5	2,438,615	45.7	6
Total	3,441,895	100.0	98	3,883,865	100.0	102	5,328,846	100.0	121

	1960			1965			1970			1985*	
10,000-20,000	940,851	13.4	69	1,203,884	12.9	92	1,638,320	13.7	121	5.7	112
20,000-50,000	1,447,966	20.7	51	2,158,251	23.1	74	2,162,475	18.1	70	9.6	84
50,000-100,000	1,222,719	17.5	18	1,241,750	13.3	18	1,358,618	11.4	20	9.5	37
100,000 +	3,387,490	48.4	9	4,739,121	50.7	14	6,771,625	56.8	20	75.2	52
Total	6,999,026	100.0	147	9,343,006	100.0	198	11,931,038	100.0	231	100.0	285

*Estimated figures

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF THE MAJOR CITIES BY CENSUS PERIODS, 1950-1970, PER CENT

Periods	Istanbul	Ankara	Izmir	Adana	Bursa	All Urban
1950-55	5.8	11.3	5.1	8.7	4.8	7.4
1955-60	3.1	11.6	5.6	7.5	4.9	6.3
1960-65	3.9	13.2	1.6	5.1	7.6	6.7
1965-70	5.8	6.7	5.3	4.3	6.1	5.5

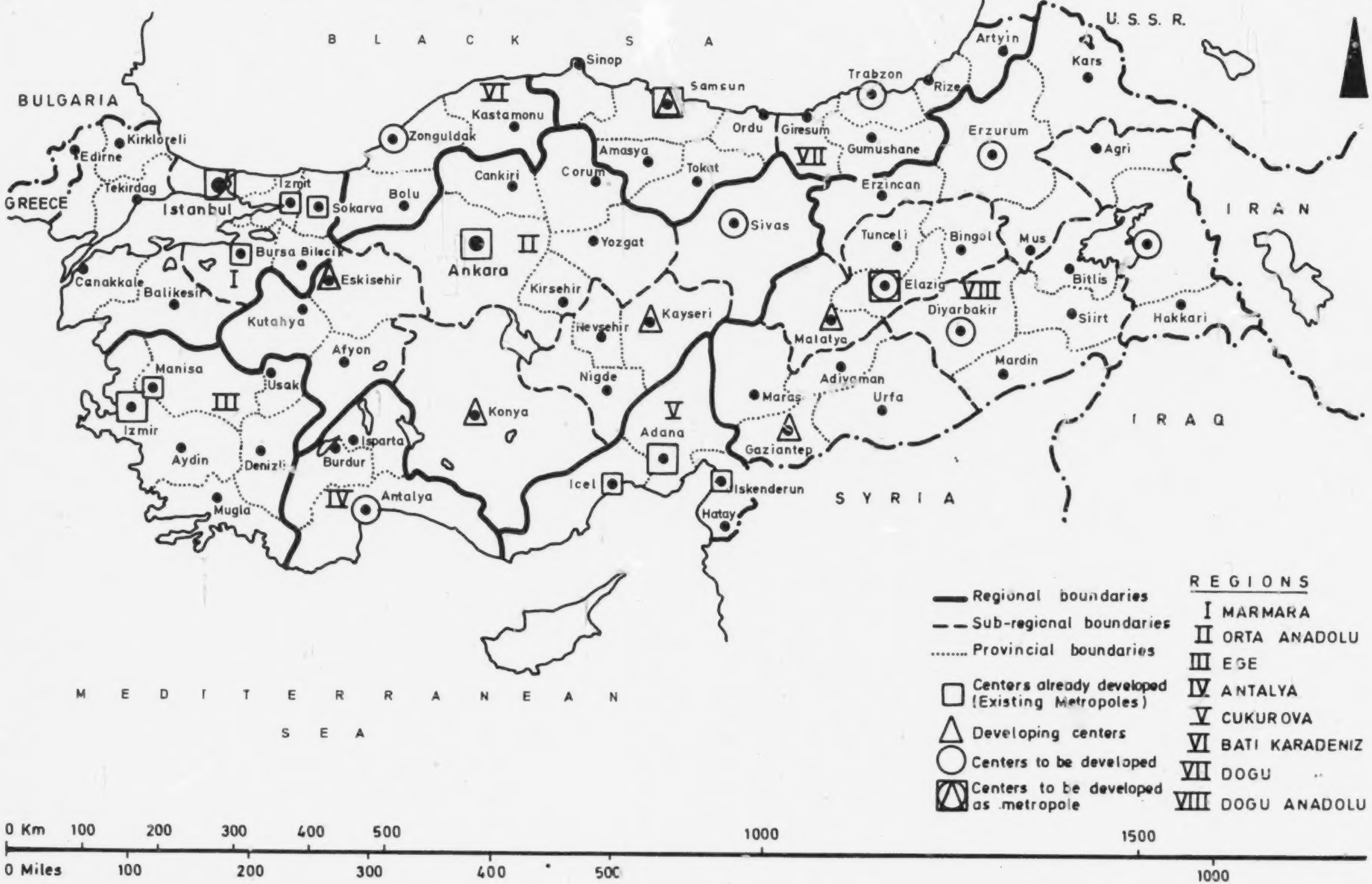
GROWTH CENTERS

Several cities that have populations under 250,000 can be identified as potential growth centers. Their average size today is around 100,000, and they are growing relatively fast economically. Some of them are already within the boundaries of existing metropolitan areas, and therefore do not need independently to be subject to development inducements other than those which apply generally to the metropolitan areas of which they are a part. Izmit and Adapazari represent this category.

Some others have already been chosen by the State Planning Organization (S.P.O.), in cooperation with the Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, as potential growth centers. These are indicated on the attached map as "centers to be developed as metropole". In order to realize this aim, significant infrastructural and cultural investments have been made in these cities, of which Samsun and Elazig are examples.

REGIONS, SUB-REGIONS AND GROWTH CENTERS

FIG. 1



U. S. S. R.
BULGARIA
GREECE
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IRAN
IRAQ
SYRIA
Edirne
Kirkloreli
Tekirdag
Istanbul
Izmit
Sokarva
Canakkale
Balikesir
Bursa
Bilecik
Eskisehir
Kutahya
Bolu
Zonguldak
Kastamonu
Sinop
Samsun
Amasya
Corum
Cankiri
Ankara
Yozgat
Tokat
Ordu
Giresum
Trabzon
Rize
Artyin
Gumushane
Erzincan
Erzurum
Kars
Agri
Sivas
Tunceli
Bingol
Mus
Bitlis
Elazig
Diyarbakir
Siirt
Hakkari
Mardin
Malatya
Adiyaman
Urfa
Maraş
Gaziantep
Iskenderun
Hatay
Kayseri
Kirsehir
Nevşehir
Nigde
Adana
Icel
Konya
Afyon
Usak
Manisa
Izmir
Aydin
Denizli
Mugla
Isparta
Burdur
Antalya
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
Regional boundaries
Sub-regional boundaries
Provincial boundaries
Centers already developed (Existing Metropoles)
Developing centers
Centers to be developed
Centers to be developed as metropole
REGIONS
I MARMARA
II ORTA ANADOLU
III EGE
IV ANTALYA
V CUKUROVA
VI BATI KARADENIZ
VII DOGU
VIII DOGU ANADOLU
0 Km 100 200 300 400 500 1000 1500
0 Miles 100 200 300 400 500 1000

Samsun is a rapidly growing commerical center on the Black Sea with a large hinterland, and Elazig is one of the fastest-growing Eastern cities, mainly due to mining and related industrial activities fostered by the construction of the Keban Dam. The sizes of these cities are 134,272 and 108,337 respectively.

Four additional cities have been selected as secondary growth centers: Eskisehir, Kayseri, Gaziantep and Diyarbakir, whose sizes vary between 100,000 and 250,000. The first two are located in the Central Anatolian Region; the other two are regional centers in South Eastern Anatolia. Their average annual growth rates during the past five years have been 4.8 per cent, 6.4 per cent, 8.2 per cent, and 6.8 per cent respectively.

In summary, six potential growth centers and secondary centers have been identified by the government, in addition to those that are already large metropolises with populations over 250,000. Since their development priorities are not indicated by the government, it would appear logical that the development of six growth centers simultaneously within two or three plan periods could create serious resource allocation problems. Besides, it is not easy for the government to justify the selection of these centers as potential growing points, as the criteria underlying their selection have not yet been made public.

THE PACE OF URBANIZATION

In order to see the extent of urban-rural population growth, a clear definition should be given of what is termed "urban." Several definitions are used by scholars and official institutions in Turkey, such as economic and social characteristics of the population, administrative boundaries of settlements, and population size. The latter is the most commonly used. In other words, urban areas are defined by the size of their populations, and 3,000, 5,000, and 10,000 are the numbers most frequently cited.

According to the officially accepted definition, settlements which are centers of a province (_il_)or a sub-province (_ilce_) are regarded as "urban." This definition is based on the administrative criterion and is therefore not satisfactory, because so many sub-provincial centers, and even some provincial ones, do not appear to be urban in character. On the other hand, there are settlements which could be considered urban, although they are not provincial or sub-provincial centers. Using the official definition in spite of its shortcomings, in 1970, 38.8 per cent of the population of Turkey could be said to be urban, and the remaining 61.2 per cent rural.*

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* The numbers of provincial and sub-provincial centers in Turkey are 67 and 572 respectively.

If the population size criterion is preferred, and places with populations of 10,000 or more are regarded as urban, the ratio of urban population in Turkey is reduced to 33.5 per cent. It is clear that Turkey is not as urbanized as some of the industrialized and developed countries whose urbanization ratios are well above 70 per cent, regardless of which index is used; nonetheless, the urban population ratio in Turkey is not as low as it is in most newly developing countries.

One point that should be kept in mind is that although the urbanization ratio is still relatively low, it has increased significantly, especially since the Second World War. Using the population size criterion, the ratio, which was only 18.3 per cent in 1945, had risen to 25.2 per cent in 1960, and to 33.5 per cent by 1970. It is estimated that it will be around 50 per cent in 1985.

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF TURKEY

Years	Total Pop. 000	Urban Pop. 000	Per Cent	Rural Pop.%	Urban Pop. 000	Per Cent	Rural Pop. %
		Definition I (Official)			Definition II		
1927	13,648	3,301	24.2	75.8	2,236	16.4	83.6
1935	16,158	3,803	23.5	76.5	2,684	16.6	83.4
1940	17,821	4,346	24.4	75.6	2,234	18.1	81.9
1945	18,790	4,687	24.9	75.1	3,442	18.3	81.7
1950	20,947	5,244	25.0	75.0	3,884	18.5	81.5
1955	24,065	6,927	28.9	71.1	5,329	22.1	77.9
1960	27,810	8,858	31.9	68.1	6,999	25.2	74.8
1965	31,391	10,848	34.6	65.4	9,343	29.8	70.2
1970	35,667	13,818	38.7	61.3	11,931	33.5	66.5

If the concept of urbanization also includes the increase in the number of urban settlements, it is again clear that Turkey has been urbanizing rapidly since the 1940s, because the number of cities has more than doubled in this time, as shown below:

THE NUMBER OF CITIES IN TURKEY

Years	Numbers	Years	Numbers
1940	97	1960	147
1945	98	1965	198
1950	102	1970	231
1955	121	1985	275

CAUSES OF URBANIZATION

It is generally agreed that depressed conditions in the agricultural sector represent a push factor for the migration of people from rural areas to the cities. In fact, although the percentage of population engaged in agriculture was 75 per cent of the total in 1965, only 36.1 per cent of the gross national product was derived from agriculture. The density of the agricultural population, the insufficiency of arable land, the overdependence of agricultural production on climatic conditions, and the inability to apply modern aricultural techniques, are the main reasons for this low productivity. Disguised and seasonal unemployment and underemployment are the fundamental characteristics of agriculture in Turkey.

Agricultural land is extremely fragmented, with 70 per cent of all holdings consisting of four or more parcels of land. Farms are mostly small peasant holdings, which is one reason why it is useless to try to introduce modern technology in such situations. According to several surveys, the mechanization of agriculture caused unemployment for a certain proportion of the rural population, forcing them to leave the land. The existence of about 100,000 tractors in the country is looked upon as being responsible for at least 25 per cent of the urban population increase that has taken place over the last twenty years.

However, recent improvements in transport and communications systems have also played an important role in increasing the mobility of people and the distribution of goods and services, thus fostering the specialization and division of labor necessary for urbanization. This is well illustrated by the increase in the length of the highway per square kilometer, by the number of motor vehicles, and by the figures of ton kilometers and passenger kilometers. The share of the transportation sector in the G.N.P. increased from 4 per cent in 1938 to 8 per cent in 1969.

Although there is no disagreement about the push effects exerted by rural conditions, no consensus exists as to the real nature of the pull effects of large cities. Some are of the opinion that in spite of its present direction and pace, urbanization is a productive process transforming the socio-economic structure into a modern society, while others contend that urbanization in its present form is progressing far ahead of industrialization, thus creating a social and economic imbalance within the big cities. Undoubtedly great changes are taking place in the structure of the economically active population. The percentage of population in the primary sector is steadily being reduced in favor of secondary and tertiary activities.

SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION (IN PERCENTAGE)

	1950	1955	1960	1965
Agriculture	84.0	82.0	78.0	75.0
Industry	8.0	9.0	10.0	12.0
Other (services)	8.0	9.0	11.0	13.0

The percentage of people working in non-agricultural sectors has increased greatly since 1950. However, there are indications to support the opinion that job opportunities in large centers do not increase at the same pace as urbanization, and the bulk of the unemployed in Turkey live in the largest cities. The population growth in the non-agricultural sectors stems more from the development of various service industries than from progress in manufacturing. Nothing is more noticeable than the abundance of shoeshiners, porters, bellboys and janitors in cities such as Ankara and Istanbul.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL POPULATION
AMONG SECTORS IN THE 7 LARGEST CITIES (1965)

Cities	Percentage of labor force involved Manufacturing (a)	 Services (b)	 a + b
Istanbul	40.4	56.3	96.7
Ankara	25.0	70.7	95.7
Izmir	35.6	52.7	88.3
Adana	32.6	51.9	84.5
Gaziantep	33.3	50.4	83.7
Bursa	44.6	42.5	87.1
Eskisehir	40.0	53.4	93.4

Noticeable increases in the number of industrial establishments in recent years do not have great significance, largely because the urbanizing effect of a particular industry depends on whether it is labor or capital intensive.

It must be admitted that per capita income increases are much higher in the manufacturing industries than in other sectors. In fact the share of manufacturing industries in the G.N.P. is 20 per cent, while only 10 per cent of the active population work in that sector. The point is that neither employment opportunities nor the income generated in in large cities is sufficient to absorb the flow of rural migrants. Although a squatter family earns a larger income compared to that earned in a village, the contribution of their marginal occupations to national economic development appears to be extremely limited.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE*

	1955	1960	1965
National Income (Million T.L.)	36,439.4	44,358.7	56,121.5
Labor force	12,305,272	12,993,245	13,557,860
Per capita national income (T.L.)	2,985.5	3,414.0	4,139.4
Increase (T.L.)		428.5	725.4
Agriculture income (Million T.L.)	15,276.4	19,238.1	20,813.7
Agricultural population	9,446,102	9,737,489	9,750,269
Per capita agricultural income (T.L.)	1,617.2	1,975.7	2,134.7
Increase (T.L.)		358.5	159.0
Industrial Income (Million T.L.)	5,157.0	6,886.6	9,609.2
Industrial population	789,167	961,988	1,046,457
Per capita industrial income (T.L.)	6,534.7	7,158.7	9,182.6
Increases (T.L.)		624.0	2,023.9

When the urbanization index is compared with the numbers of

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[*] State Institute of Statistics, Turkiye Milli Geliri, Ankara, 1970. (National Income of Turkey). All Figures are adjusted.

industrial workers, the observation that urbanization is growing faster than industrialization is well justified for the years between 1950 and 1967.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN LARGE CITIES

(1950 = 100)

Cities	Industrial Index (No. of industrial workers)	Urbanization Index
Istanbul	240	178
Ankara	446	313
Izmir	139	174
Adana	179	246
Bursa	154	205
Eskisehir	170	194
Gaziantep	115	220
Konya	242	245
Kayseri	155	194

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

The study of the age ratios of the urban and rural populations shows that the ratio of the younger population is much higher in rural areas than in cities. This can be regarded as one of the indicators that the rural population is more fertile than the urban. In effect, the ration of the population in the age groups below 14 years old is 35.2 per cent in cities compared to 44.8 per cent in rural areas.*

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* These are the 1965 population census figures, since the 1970 figures are not yet available.

Several studies on mortality and fertility rates in Turkey conclude that the latter are much higher in rural areas than in urban areas,* i.e., general fertility rates for metropolitan areas, other urban settlements and rural areas are 26 per cent, 41 per cent and 57 per cent respectively.

A better indication is the ratio of children to women in both rural and urban areas.** In 1965, this ratio was 520 for urban areas, but 744 for rural areas, and it has been noted that it has been decreasing over the years. Demographic studies show that there are sharp differences between the children/women ratios in settlements of varying sizes.***

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* Frederic C. Shorter and Paul Demeny, Turkiye'de Olum Seviyesi Dogurganlik ve Yas Yapisi Tahminleri, Istanbul, 1968, pp. 42-48 (Mortality Rates, Fertility and Estimates of Age Structures in Turkey).

** Frederic C. Shorter, "Information on Fertility, Mortality and Population Growth in Turkey " in Turkish Demography p.38

*** See the following comparison in Orhan Turkay, Turkiye'de Nufus Artisi ve Iktisadi Gelisme, p. 49 (Population Increase and Economic Development in Turkey):

$$\frac{\text{Number of Children in the 0-4 age group}}{\text{Number of Women in the 15-44 age group}} \times 1{,}000$$

1950 in settlements of 5,000 or more: 492
in settlements of 5,000 or less: 718
1955 in settlements of 10,000 or more: 477
in settlements of 10,000 or less: 812
1945 20 cities of 30,000 or more: 369
Cities of 10,000-30,000: 468
Settlements of 10,000 or less: 653

However, since the statistics are not yet complete for all the population censuses, it is not possible to make intertemporal comparisons.

Because of rapid rural-urban migration and the selective nature of this movement, the sex structure of the population is less balanced in urban than in rural areas. The population which migrates to urban areas is generally made up of young males rather than of females and children.

It is clearly observed that in the sex structure of the population by place of residence, the ratio of the male population is slightly higher in cities than in rural areas, a fact that can be interpreted as the effect of selective rural to urban migration. Surveys show that most of the migrants are young and middle-aged males seeking job opportunities and higher incomes in metropolitan areas.

SEX RATIOS IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

	Urban	Rural
Male	53.9	49.7
Female	46.1	50.3
Total	100.0	100.0

FAMILY PLANNING

A national policy directed at reducing the rate of population growth, which has varied between 2.5 and 3 per cent for the last twenty years, was formulated in 1963 when government prepared its First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-67). Since then the State has provided information on contraception and assistance to those who do not wish to have more than a certain number of children. The implementation of this program is restricted by the fact that the low literacy rate of the rural population renders it largely ineffective. A central family planning organization was established a few years ago under the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance. Estimates based both on children/women ratios and dependency ratios show that there will be a decrease in fertility during the 15 years following 1970.* The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-72) should be referred to in order to see the extent of the probable decline in population increase. According to its estimates, a medium growth rate has been accepted for the five-year period. Even though a medium fertility rate has been agreed upon, it is estimated that the population of Turkey will be over fifty million in 1985.

PLANNING

In Turkey there is a national planning organization which is responsible for formulating national development plans.

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* S.P.O. Second Five-Year Development Plan, pp. 58 and 62

According to the Turkish Constitution of 1961, the country's economic, social, and cultural development is based on a predetermined plan. A special law passed in 1960 ensured the establishment of a Central Planning Organization to lay down the principles to be followed in the preparation, execution and revision of the plan, and to suggest measures designed to prevent any changes that would impair its integrity. The problem of urbanization was not treated as a separate subject in the First Five-Year Development Plan, but housing, regional development and planning, and community development were taken up separatly. However, in the Second Five-Year Plan urbanization and related problems are considered to be among the important social development problems.

URBANIZATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Although this was not publicized, the First Plan did not favor the unlimited growth of metropolitan areas, and set the principle that the growth of large cities should be in proportion to job opportunities available in them. This was an indirect recognition of the optimum size rule for growing cities; apart from this, no detailed or elaborate urbanization policy can be found in the First Five-Year Development Plan (1962-1967).

In the Second Plan, (1968-1972) important innovations and policy directives were decided upon; some of the objectives of the urbanization policy are as follows:*

> Urbanization will be assisted, and will be used as a tool of development. Measures will be taken to increase the rate of social change in urbanization to the maximum, while ensuring the efforts to achieve this goal be kept to a minimum. The goal of balanced urbanization will be realized by establishing a pattern of resettlement which will promote economic and social development, and by taking into consideration labor productivity and the requirements of the economic and social structure. During the transition period from a rural to an industrial urban structure, investment in rural areas will be made in such a way that will secure future relationships between villages and large cities.
>
> Industrialization, modernization in agriculture and urbanization are three inseparable factors in the development process. Politically these factors will be treated as a whole, and no efforts will be made to develop any one of them independently of the other, since this would lead to a waste of limited resources.
>
> Urbanization will be considered within the context of the institutions which it creates, and with respect to city and regional relations. Thus cities will not be treated independently when urban problems are being solved.

The policy measures formulated to implement the foregoing objectives are the following:

> Since large urban centers contribute to the process of economic and social development, their growth should not be prevented, but should be encouraged, and connections should be provided between national and regional centers. Regional growth centers should be the focal points of transportation and communications systems, and intensive investment should also be made in them. Small towns (Kasaba) constitute an intermediary stage between cities and villages, which limits the expansion of the influence of urban centers. Instead of increasing the number of district

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*S.P.O. Second Five-Year Development Plan, pp.291-298.

> centers, the most appropriate urban centers should be assisted so that urbanization could take the form of a real urban environment, and relations between cities and villages should be developed in accordance with industrial requirements.

It seems quite obvious that Turkey's development plan does not oppose urbanization, but that on the contrary, one of its main aims is to encourage this. Secondly, the further growth of large cities is considered to be of definite advantage for social and economic development. This is the most important deviation from the approach of the First Five-Year Plan. Thirdly, the plan seeks to ensure balanced urbanization, in the sense that the population should be distributed evenly throughout the country; an aim which, to a certain extent, seems to be in contradiction to the previous one. Although all of these objectives are clearly stated in the Second Five-Year Plan, it is difficult to say whether the policy measures indicated will prove adequate to achieving the purposes stated, quite apart from the difficulties of their implementation.

REGIONAL DISPARITIES AND REGIONAL PLANNING

The organic law which was passed in 1958 (No. 7116) empowered the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement to prepare "Reconstruction Plans" for villages, towns, cities, and other regions, and to influence the rate and direction of urbanization through regional planning. In 1959 a Department of Regional Planning was established in the Ministry of Reconstruction, and was made responsible for the direction of all the work being done in this area. The Ministry's principal regional planning functions are to determine "reconstruction regions"* in accordance with natural, economic, civil defense, touristic and other conditions, to prepare reconstruction plans for them, taking their development potential into consideration, and to do whatever is necessary to see that these regional reconstruction plans are carried out. In order to assure this work, a committee composed of the representatives of the ministries concerned may be set up by government decree, but this committee has never come into being. The Department of Regional Planning within the Ministry has continued to perform the regional planning functions of the Ministry, and has been chiefly responsible for data gathering, research and analysis, and plan-making.

Three important factors contributed to the justification of regional planning activities in Turkey: 1) The need to coordinate government investments, which have close bearing on the geographical distribution of the population and economic activities; 2) The desire for more systematic evaluation of development potential, including both the backward regions and the growing metropolitan areas; 3) To assess the validity of national policies with respect to regional development.

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*The term "reconstruction region" created certain problems later on, because the technical staff of the Ministry was not sure what this concept meant. One group of experts believed that its task should consist of preparing large-scale physical plans, while another group contended that regional plans should be concerned with the economic development of regions.

At present, Turkey is full of examples of economic, social and cultural disparities between East and West, most of which are of an economic character. The average percentage of non-agricultural population in the East is about 20 per cent, and none of those provinces with a higher proportion of non-agricultural population lie to the east of a line drawn from Zonguldak to Gaziantep. In contrast, this percentage is 83.8 for Istanbul, 43 for Izmir, 42.7 for Ankara, and 31 for Eskisehir, provinces whose centers are all cities of more than 100,000 population. The non-agricultural sectors provide about 65 per cent of the G.N.P., and this ratio is as high as 85 per cent in the Marmara region. Income tax collected from the three largest cities represented 50 per cent in 1950, 60 per cent in 1960, and 71 per cent of the national total in 1964.

The Black Sea, Mediterranean, East and Southeast regions have only 14.7 per cent of the total bank deposits in the country, while the Marmara region alone has 40 per cent of the total, although it represents only 5.7 per cent of Turkey's land surface and 14.5 per cent of the total population. There are also certain indications that relatively developed regions, such as the West, invest a large amount of the capital drawn from the underdeveloped regions.

Some of the regional disparities are of a more social and cultural nature. There are the wide inequalities in educational institutions and the number and standard of teachers between the developed West and the backward East, which were clearly reflected by the recent performance of students. Health services are no exception to this pattern: 64.6 per cent of all the physicians in the country live in the three largest cities as do the architects and engineers. The average number of inhabitants per doctor in these cities is 672, while the corresponding average figure for the whole of Turkey is 2,825. In the provinces of the East and Southeast, the number of inhabitants per doctor is as high as 9,369.

Obviously one can expect economic, social and cultural inequalities to create value differences and behavioral consequences, and thus retard the socio-economic integration of the nation. Therefore regional disparities have become one of the most important policy problems since the beginning of the planned development period.

Although efforts to identify the backward regions of the country have been successful during the planning development period, few measures contained in the plans could be put into effect. An amendment to the Income Tax Law in 1963 increased the normal 30 per cent tax reduction to 40 per cent for industries which would locate outside the developed regions. A subsequent law in 1967 (No. 933) concerning the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan stated that this tax reduction might be increased to 80 per cent; in other words, that portion of investment would be tax exempt, and this allowance could be carried out by cabinet decree. Since financial and tax matters are within the power of the legislative branch, the Constitutional Court annulled the latter article in 1969.

However, the geographical distribution of public service investments has remained almost unchanged throughout the planned development period. The lack of even minimum infrastructure in the East and Southeast regions has been the fundamental impediment to the location of private enterprise in the underdeveloped East.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES

A major problem related to regional disparities is the great differences between rural and urban standards of living. It would be difficult to find many countries in the world where the per capita real income in rural areas is less than one-third of that in urban areas, as is the case in Turkey. Although the cost of living in rural areas is lower than it is in urban centers, and many of the expenses associated with urban centers are avoided in rural areas, the difference between the two is so high that no correction in the measurement is likely to close the gap.

The literacy rate in rural areas is less than half of that in the cities; the number of students attending primary school in the former is only 61 per cent of that in the latter. Account should be taken of the fact that in the villages the teacher is usually responsible not just for a single class, but for all the classes in the school, in which case the above comparison becomes even less favorable. Half the villages lack drinking water, while this percentage is only 10 per cent for urban centers; and overcrowding in villages is more serious than it is in urban areas, with almost 25 per cent more persons per room. A village house is, in most cases, built of such cheap materials as semi-dried brick and mud, and quite often serves a double purpose by sheltering human beings and animals alike. Ninety-eight per cent of the motor vehicles in the country are in urban centers, and only 2 per cent in rural areas. Nevertheless, the rapid development of bus services with relatively low fares following the construction of highways after 1950 has increased labor mobility, and facilitated the contact of villagers with urban centers. When all the factors are considered, rural welfare would seem to differ by a larger percentage from urban welfare than the per capita income figures alone indicate.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

The tasks of the Regional Planning Department in the Ministry to some extent overlap with those of the central planning agency, The State Planning Organization (S.P.O.), which was established in 1960. Its responsibilities included governing the whole development process, with a slightly ambiguous reference to regional planning, which meant that two institutions were to collaborate with each other in one way or another to provide coordination. In effect, one function of the Economic Planning Department of the S.P.O. is to make the necessary studies and to prepare long-and short-term general and regional plans and programs.

Given the existence of these two institutions, it is obvious that an intimate connection between them is of crucial importance. The S.P.O. has maintained the principle of regional planning as an integral part of national development planning, and a small unit was set up in the S.P.O. during the Second Five-Year Development Plan period for liaison with the Ministry. Until recently, their functional relationships were based on protocols, according to which the S.P.O. took an active part in regional planning with respect to economic resource allocation, while the Ministry concentrated on physical and land-use planning.

There is a regional planning policy in Turkey's development plans, and its major principles in the First Five-Year Development Plan can be summarized as follows:

> The aim is to increase overall productivity by giving priority to the allocation of resources to regions with high social and economic potential, by eliminating regional imbalances through the accelerated development of backward regions, and by taking into consideration the metropolitan areas where such factors as overconcentration of population and economic activity are creating special problems.

The First Plan also emphasized that "regional planning is an inseparable part of national planning. Sectoral analyses and regional studies will thus be conceived as complementary elements and tools of the same planning process." Regional planning was also considered important for the Plan's implementation: "In the implementation of national plans and programs, cooperation at the regional level among the various executive organs will help us to achieve success." The revision of the organizational structure both at the center and in the regions, and the preparation of extensive regional investment programs were also included in the First Plan, but the measures were not implemented.

The Second Five-Year Development Plan restated the basic principles of the regional development policy laid down in the First Plan. The aim would be to regionalize the sectoral investment program on the basis of certain growth centers, or, more specifically:

> The objectives of the regional development policy are to achieve balanced inter-regional development; new investment in services will be directed towards those communities which presently do not benefit sufficiently from them, and emphasis will be placed on the balanced distribution of these investments between regions. Investments to increase economic activity in the less developed regions will be concentrated in urban centers which posses high growth potential. Thus self-sustained growth centers which influence their environment will be formed. Emphasis will be placed on the allocation of public investments to more than one location in order to direct economic activities towards the less developed regions. In the growth centers of less developed regions, priority will be given economically justifiable investment. A policy to develop the resources of these regions and to direct private investment to them will be implemented.

The regional growth centers policy of the Development Plan aims to ensure a more balanced distribution of population throughout the country. At present there are big differences between various geographical regions, both in terms of the ratio of urban population and the number of cities, in addition to the indicators of regional disparities mentioned above. Although almost half of Turkey's cities fail to the east of a line drawn between Samsun and Adana, their sizes are very small. The large and primate cities are either in the Marmara, Aegean or the Central Anatolian Regions. According to the 1970 population census, the most urbanized region in the country is Marmara, with 52.4 per cent urban population, a ratio similar to that of cities in several Western industrialized and developed nations, whereas Eastern and Northeastern Anatolia are the least urbanized. The existence of the Istanbul metropolitan area, which includes such large cities as Izmit, Bursa and Adapazari, has played an important role in the high urban ratio of that region. Similarly, Adana, Iskenderun and Mersin, together with Gaziantep and Maras, are responsible for the rapid urbanization of Southern Anatolia. Ankara, the nation's capital, Eskisehir, Konya and Sivas are the large cities of the central region. It is clear that the geographical regions that are more urbanized are also the most developed ones of the country, and vice versa.

RATIOS OF URBAN POPULATION BY REGIONS PER CENT
1950-1970

Regions	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	No. of cities of 50,000 and over	No. of cities of 10,000 and over
Marmara	36.5	41.8	43.3	47.0	52.4	6	41
Southern	21.7	25.8	31.6	34.4	39.8	9	27
Aegean	24.1	26.9	30.3	31.2	34.1	4	26
Central	19.9	23.3	24.8	30.0	36.1	9	51
South-eastern	15.1	15.4	16.1	18.5	23.0	2	16
East	8.5	10.1	13.4	16.8	22.2	5	24
Black Sea	7.1	9.1	11.4	13.5	17.7	5	45
Turkey	18.5	22.1	25.2	29.8	33.5	40	230

It is also important look at the pace at which urbanization is progressing. The ratios of the urban population of these regions have been higher during the last two decades, for instance, compared to those during the 1927-50 period. The ratios of several regions such as the Marmara, the East and Southeast, and the Black Sea can be observed to rise continuously. Since the difference in terms of the urbanization ratio between the East and the West is quite high, it is not possible to conclude, as some western scholars have, that regional disparities tend to decrease with time, parallel to economic development. The situation in Turkey at least, does not support such a statement. However, there has been a marked increase in the number of small-and medium-size cities in Eastern Turkey, especially since the beginning of the planned period.

INCREASES IN THE RATIOS OF URBAN POPULATIONS
OF REGIONS--PER CENT ANNUAL AVERAGES

Regions	1927-1950	1950-1960	1960-1970
Marmara	0.2	6.8	9.1
Southern	2.5	9.9	8.2
Aegean	3.6	6.2	4.1
Central	8.8	4.9	11.5
Southeastern	0.1	1.0	6.9
East	0.9	4.9	9.6
Black Sea	1.4	4.3	6.3

The principles in the development plans and annual programs are clearly directed to ensure a more even distribution of the population and economic activities. However, it is too early yet to conclude that the slight improvement in the population distribution in recent years is due to the implementation of the measures contained in the plans.

PLANS AND PLANNING ADMINISTRATION

As stated above, the State Planning Organization is responsible for preparing national short-and long-term economic and social development plans. The government of Turkey began with the First Five-Year Development Plan in 1963, and now the Third Five-Year Plan will shortly be completed. The S.P.O. is also responsible for the preparation of short- and long-term regional plans, as is the Directorate of

Regional Planning in the Ministry of Reconstruction; the two collaborate, or should collaborate, in the preparation and implementation of the plans. However, this collaboration has not been satisfactory so far.

There are no formal regional planning authorities in Turkey, largely because of the 1961 Constitution which does not allow the existence of intermediate administrative organizations between the central government and local authorities. According to Article 115 of the Constitution, "Deconcentrated institutions may be set up in areas consisting of more than one province in order to perform certain public services." This, in fact, allows the central government to establish provincial or field organizations. Many central departments, such as the Labor Ministry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Water Works, the Highways Department, the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration, and several other departments have set up about forty of their own regional or field organizations.

The reason for setting up the organization of central agencies is merely to ensure more efficient service. Although they are not planning authorities per se, the Constitution is not against getting them together in one planned region in order to perform their services in a more efficient and productive way. Only a coordinating governor (who is responsible for the administration of more than one province), and not a regional governor, may be given the authority to supervise, coordinate and implement all the planning work, and for planning purposes his jurisdiction may be expanded as appropriate.

Municipal councils are held responsible for planning at the local level through the Municipal Law of 1930. An *ad hoc* commission presided over by the central government representative (the *vali* or *kaymakam*, governor or district governor respectively), and consisting of members of various local or national institutions, prepares a detailed survey of the area, and the plan document is then prepared with reference to this survey. The law requires that only those municipalities with populations over five thousand may work out city development plans, and smaller ones may only prepare an official map showing the main areas of development along the principal roads. However, whenever their councils see a high development potential and possess the necessary financial resources, these municipalities may begin to prepare development plans. They are all willing to make such plans, since having one is a precondition for obtaining financial assistance from the local government bank, the Iller Bankasi. At present 85 per cent of all Turkish municipalities are small townships (with less than five thousand population), and are therefore not legally required to prepare development plans.

In the Turkish legislation nothing is specified about the time-span of local development plans as it is in many other countries. However, a twenty-year period has recently become more common. Muncipalities which are responsible for preparing city development plans are held responsible for programming their investments over four-year periods, which means that they have to divide the twenty years into five program periods, giving priority to projects that have close bearing on the proper development of cities. However, in practice very few municipalities prepare programs, mainly due to lack of qualified personnel and financial resources; besides, they prefer to maintain the ability to act freely without a program adopted and imposed by the council.

The function of the central government with respect to city development plans consists of approving them, and this power belongs exclusively to the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement. An intermediary is at the head of the central government's field organization in the respective cities --the vali or kaymakam,-- who exercise a controlling power (administrative tutelage) on behalf of the central government over almost all decisions of the local authorities.

Almost all the municipalities that are empowered to prepare city development plans already possess one, although few have succeeded in implementing their plans to a sufficient extent because of the lack of technical personnel, the inadequacy of resources, and finally that of realistic socio-economic projections concerning the future of the city. A recent survey shows that a few years ago, 72.2 per cent of all the municipalities already had their own development plans when the average per capita sum spent by them for development purposes was only 19 T.L. (slightly over one U.S. dollar). At the same time, the average number of technical personnel per municipality was only 0.48 in 1964, and 65 per cent of the municipalities had no technical staff that year. Although this is a great handicap for Turkish cities, the Local Government Bank (Iller Bankasi) tries to make up for it to some extent by making long-term loans, and by offering aid grants or technical assistance to local authorities.

Certain municipalities which can employ their own planners prepare their own development plans, or contract planning firms to prepare one for them. A third, and quite efficient way of preparing plans is recourse to the Iller Bankasi for technical assistance. This bank either prepares plans by using its own technical staff, or hands the work over by adjudication to contractors, or obtains the best blueprint for the future development of the city through national or international competitions among qualified planners.

Article 116 of the Consitution allows three kinds of local authorities in Turkey: municipalities, provincial local administrations, and villages, and these are all autonomous, decentralized administrative organizations separate from the field organizations of the central government. Apart from these, no new kind of local administration can be created. This means that if an attempt is made to set up a new kind of local government with autonomous financial powers to cope with the preparation and implementation of metropolitan plans, it may be declared unconstitutional.

However, local government units have the right to unite themselves and create local unions in order to achieve better performance in one or more services; this power may be the starting point for setting up metropolitan government in Turkey. Local authorities are not obliged to create unions among themselves, and therefore, even where such organizations are necessary, they are rarely found at present. A new draft law concerning municipalities purposes that the central government force them to set up metropolitan governments where planning and development control have to be excercised.

Because of planning problems created by large cities and their surrounding municipalities, the government established Metropolitan Planning Boards in the three largest cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) in 1967 by cabinet decree. The executive secretaries and members of these boards are appointed by the Ministry of Reconstruction from senior urban planners; planning directors of the municipalities concerned are also ex officio members. These metropolitan planning boards are presently surveying the socio-economic and physical characteristics of their areas, in projecting the future development of each metropolitan area, and in formulating appropriate planning policies. For the time being they consist of qualified research personnel, and function as a research group. How to implement the plans they prepare is open to question, but the necessity for some sort of metropolitan planning administration with a certain degree of financial autonomy seems obvious.

The main function of the metropolitan planning boards seems to be to make certain important intermediate planning decisions concerning the development of the cities, because without these decisions orderly development would be either impossible or prohibitively expensive. They may not come into effect until they have been approved by the authorized organs of the municipalities, however, since the latter are the formal planning authorities.

Annual budgets are prepared at all government levels in Turkey, central or local, which obviously prevents local authorities from benefitting from the advantages provided by capital budgeting. Some efforts are being made to introduce the P.P.B.S. technique (planning programming and budgeting system), but they are not presently directed to local authorities. There is no difference between medium size cities, large cities and metropolitan centers with respect to budgetary systems, but programming capital expenditures for development is provided in Article 30 of the City Planning Law (No. 6785). These programs may be for a maximum of four years, but it should be stated that even the largest municipalities do not prepare four-year capital expenditure programs, although they are required to do so by law.

CITY DEVELOPMENT PLANS

City development plans are not officially published in Turkey, but some of the surveys have been published by the Iller Bankasi, such as those on Erzurum, Sivas, Trabzon and Izmit. These analytical studies are made by the technical staff of the bank in collaboration with the Ministry of Reconstruction, and sometimes with assistance from the local chambers of commerce and industry. The metropolitan planning boards previously mentioned have not yet completed or published the results of their studies.

The fact that Istanbul, the primate city, and other large centers did not publish their development plans does not mean that they do not have any--Istanbul has had a city development plan for about forty years. This plan, which has been modified several times during this period, views the city as a separate entity without giving the necessary consideration to its relationship with the surrounding area or with Turkey as a whole. Such eminent architects and planners as Henry Prost and Luigi Piccinato have contributed to it as foreign consultants, and their main preoccupation was with the beautification of the city.

It was the inadequacy of this plan and the fast growth of the city that made the creation of a metropolitan bureau necessary in 1966. The Istanbul Master Plan Bureau has not yet finished its survey, nor has it formulated its preliminary findings. The responsibility of working out city development plans is given to indigenous institutions and planners, but domestic and foreign consultants may be hired.

Rene Dange, a French planner, prepared a plan for the city of Izmir in 1924, Herman Jansen prepared the master plans for such cities as Mersin, Adana, Ceyhan, Antalya, and Izmit between 1930 and 1939, and another French planner, J. Lambert, prepared the Erzurum plan.

Izmir, which today is the third largest city, has had a development plan since 1935, but because of the rapid increase in its population it was necessary to prepare a new one, and in 1952 the competition organized for this purpose was won by a team of Turkish planners. The plan and its survey have been published by the municipality of Izmir.

The first master plan for the city of Ankara was prepared in 1928 by Herman Jansen, a German planner-architect who won the international planning competition organized by the Turkish government after Ankara was selected as the state capital. The municipality wanted the city to be planned on the assumption that in fifty years (by 1978) the population would be 300,000. In fact, the city had reached that figure by 1950, about thirty years earlier than the date estimated. A new international planning competition was therefore opened in 1954. This was won by two Turkish planners, and the plan that they prepared is still being used.

REGIONAL PLANNING PROJECTS

Since 1963 several regional plans have been prepared either by the Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, or by the State Planning Organization, or by both in collaboration with each other.

The first study initiated by the Regional Planning Department, the East Marmara project, was a venture of the Ministry of Reconstruction and its field organization in Istanbul, the East Marmara Regional Planning Bureau. The Istanbul municipality gave material support in the form of office space, personnel and equipment. The studies were carried out under the technical supervision of an O.E.C.D. chief consultant* and several resident consultants. Because of limited manpower resources the Bureau divided its work into two sections, the East Marmara sub-region and the Eastern Thrace sub-region. The East Marmara studies were completed between 1962 and 1963, and a draft plan was published.**

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* Dr. Lloyd Rodwin, Professor, City and Regional Planning Dept., M.I.T.

** Imar ve Iskan Bakanligi, Dogu Marmara Bolgesi On Plani (The Draft Plan for the East Marmara Region), Ankara, 1964.

This draft recommended that concentrated urbanization be encouraged in order to create rural growth points where expanded social services would be based, and to protect the natural and historical beauties of the region. To check the further extension of cultivated land, to increase productivity, to encourage the cultivation of industrial crops, to protect the forest, and to improve fishing were among its aims. The draft plan recommended that priority be given to the development of an industrial infrastructure and that the manufacturing sector be stimulated. Infrastructure and communications were two important areas emphasized by the plan. The main problems in building the former seemed to be finding a satisfactory solution to the water shortage, especially in the city of Istanbul, solving the problem of sewerage, and achieving the rapid implementation of the recently approved electricity projects. Concerning communications, the draft plan recommended that priority be given to tourist roads, the creation of a port in Izmit, the modernization of railways and the enlarging of Istanbul and Bursa airports. A feasibility study for an airport for the Izmit-Adapazari area was also recommended.

Although the draft plan provided a valid basis on which to draw up precise investment proposals, it was not effectively implemented in subsequent years, although a U.N. Special Fund project to solve the water and sewage disposal problems is now under way.

A detailed regional planning study on the Eastern Thrace region was carried out in 1965, for which a French University team collaborated with the staff of the Eastern Marmara Regional Planning Bureau. The potentialities of each sector were projected over a fifteen-year period until 1982, and were closely related to national growth targets. The aims of the plan were to make the region into a supplier of food to Istanbul, to develop its mineral deposits such as lignite and manganese, and to tap the transit trade trucked to the Middle East. Specifically it recommended that the government develop the transit function of the region, and the region's principal resources, to the maximum. In short, it should be developed as a whole in close harmony with Istanbul. The findings of this comprehensive regional study were included as a summary in one of the programs, but as the second stage of the study was not ready, namely the preparation of detailed investment projects, it was never put into force.

The second important regional planning study was on Zonguldak, a province on the Black Sea where overpopulation, outdated farming methods and land tenure systems, an inadequate infrastructure especially in housing, water supply and transportation, untapped reserves, and low productivity in the coal mines, are among the main problems. In the first stage of the studies a survey of the region was made and an analysis of its structure and problems was completed, while in the second, preliminary findings on land use and development were submitted to local authorities. Activities such as fishing, canning, metal processing, shoe and furniture making, cement and building material production and tourism were favored, and crop substitution and soil conservation were also recommended. Since the nation's second biggest steel and iron mill is located within the boundaries of Zonguldak, strong recommendations were made for urgent investments in transportation and other urban public services. At the end of the third stage, which was completed in 1963 with the technical assistance of O.E.C.D., a twenty-year prospective plan for the region was produced* which harmonized the national development plan with a list of suggested investment areas within a physical master plan.

The third important regional planning project was undertaken in the Cukurova region, which includes Adana, the fourth largest city of Turkey, as well as the other important urban centers of Mersin and Iskenerun. Iskenerun is the location of the third biggest iron and steel mill in the country.

The Cukurova studies were conceived as a joint S.P.O. and Ministry of Reconstruction operation. The project leader was appointed by the S.P.O., which also appointed a team responsible for social and economic planning. Another team, collaborating with the first, took responsibility for physical and land use planning. U.S.A.I.D. experts assisted the first team, while the second was given the help of O.E.C.D. consultants. In spite of additional expertise made available by specialized government agencies, considerable difficulties were encountered in making this project work. Subsequent to a macro-analysis of the region's economy, the formulation of a development policy by sectors and sub-sectors over a twenty-year period was completed. Although a detailed physical land use plan was prepared, no specific development proposal was put forward. During the course of the project, the official S.P.O. attitude toward regional planning was modified, and the section on this subject was taken out of the development plan.

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* Imar ve Iksan Bakanligi, Zonguldak Bolgesi On Plani, (Draft Plan on the Zonguldak Region), Ankara, 1964.

The Cukurova project was a step nearer to the comprehensive approach to regional planning, and although attempts to gain local support were not wholly successful, a degree of development consciousness was aroused in the public and in the local chambers of commerce and industry. A fair number of projects, such as those dealing with synthetic fibers, fertilizers, vegetable oils and packaging are now either being prepared or implemented. The Cukurova studies showed the importance not only of establishing goals, but also of giving special care to the technique by which they were attained.

The fourth project is the Keban project which was required to plan the socio-economic and physical development of the Elazig-Keban sub-region, parallel to the construction of the Keban Dam. This sub-region includes four provinces: Elazig, Malatya, Tunceli and Bingol. The decision to dam the Euphrates at Keban, primarily for electric power purposes, provided a valuable opportunity to plan the whole development potential of the region. The Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement was given the responsibility of coordinating all studies undertaken for the construction of the dam, and for the resettlement of the inhabitants of the two hundred villages to be submerged.

A preliminary comprehensive plan was completed by the end of 1966,* which envisaged the following three development alternatives for the period 1967-82: families that would be displaced should a) emigrate, b) be absorbed into industry and services, and c) be absorbed into agriculture. The effects of these alternatives on investment and income were studied in detail, and the targets were decided upon. For agriculture the aim was to double the income by 1982. Crops would be diversified by reducing cereals from 80 to 50 per cent of the total, and by developing orchard crops, vegetables and livestock. It was estimated that in industry the feasibility of some eighteen new mining and manufacturing projects would be studied.

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* Imar ve Iskan Bakanligi, Elazig Keban Projesi, Ekonomik Gelisme ve Bolgesel Sanayilesme Etudu, (The Elazig Keban Project: Economic Development and Regional Industrialization Studies), Ankara, 1966; and Elazig Keban Bolgesi Fiziki Yerlesme Plani, (Land Use Plan of the Elazig Keban Region), Ankara, 1968.

The primary aim of the Keban project was to speed up economic development in the Eastern part of the country, and thus reduce the regional income inequalities. It was also hoped that the project would help to diminish the percentage of agricultural revenue in the global income (from 34.8 per cent in 1965 to 26.0 per cent in 1982), and to transfer at least 100,000 families from agriculture into industry and other services. Actual implementation of this project has been limited to the resettlement of the displaced inhabitants of the villages and to the approval of some of the proposed infrastructure projects; however, the project as a whole has been accepted by the S.P.O. Studies completed so far have corresponded to a regional development plan that is truly comprehensive in scope, but it is clear that a more detailed analysis of the development potential, better investment projects, and a more experienced planning team are needed. To achieve the objectives of the project, the annual investment requirements are roughly estimated at U.S. $50 million.

Another project was prepared between 1960 and 1965 for balanced economic development in the Antalya region, sponsored by the United Nations Development Program (Special

Fund) in collaboration with the F.A.O. which was appointed by the Special Fund as an executing agency. The S.P.O. acted as liaison between the project and the government.

Through the F.A.O. and other U.N. special agencies, the Special Fund undertook to provide a team of experts and consultants to furnish equipment and supplies and to offer short-term scholarships to Turkish staff. Its contribution was estimated to be U.S. $345,550, and the value of the Turkish government's contribution to be the equivalent of $463,000. For the second stage, the Special Fund allocated $676,600, and the value of the government's contribution in kind was expected to equal $534,000.

The purpose was to prepare a survey of the region on the basis of which a balanced plan for its economic and social development would be prepared. This plan would serve as an example for other regions, and its preparation would afford opportunities for the training of Turkish staff in the techniques of planning. It was indicated that the studies should cover such areas as industry, tourism, trade, irrigation and drainage, agriculture in general, forestry and health, social adjustment and employment problems. The results of all these studies, which were assisted by the I.L.O. and W.H.O., were to be coordinated within the framework of an integrated plan for the region.

Thirty-one Turkish and forty-one foreign experts have worked on the project. The U.N. Development Program and the

F.A.O. published a four-volume report of the study in 1966.*

Litton Industries, Inc. undertook a study to determine the touristic potential of the Menderes Valley in 1967-68, but since the government did not provide additional funds the project was discontinued at the second stage. Another survey which appeared to be a follow-up study of the Cukurova region plan, dealing with the problems of locating the third iron and steel industry, was assigned to Bechtel Co. in 1969, and financed entirely by the Turkish government.

In addition to these studies, the Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement has conducted several studies on the Central and Eastern Anatolian and Aegean Regions. It has also published a number of studies on major cities and their surroundings, foremost among which are Konya, Trabzon, Sivas, Mugla, Cankiri and Rize. Finally, in liaison with the Ministry of Tourism, special studies have been made of pilot zones on the southern coast with strong development potential.

NEW TOWNS: THE CASE OF ANKARA

Turkey has never had a program of "planned new towns;" urbanization policy is primarily directed at coping with the problems of existing cities, while at the same time encouraging the development of regions that promise to be the future growth centers. However, the example of Ankara is worth mentioning in this respect. Ankara became the state capital in 1923, immediately after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. It was then a small Anatolian town with a population of about 20,000, with a large part of the labor forces engaged in commercial activities. The government's decision to transfer the capital from Istanbul to Ankara caused a rapid population flow into the latter city, and the subsequent change in the social and economic structure necessitated the establishment of a new town to absorb the inflow, rather than an expansion of the old city center. Parliament passed a law authorizing the Ankara municipality to expropriate 4,000,000 square meters of land in the periphery of the old town on which Yenisehir (New Town) was built in the subsequent years.

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* U.N. Development Program, F.A.O. of the U.N., Pre-Investment Surveys of the Antalya Region, 1966, FAO/SF:14/TUR

The success of this experiment lies in the fact that the expropriation law specified the amount of compensation that would be paid to the landowners. The Constitution of that time allowed the government to pay only the objective value (the value that is determined by law objectively) of the land, and not the subjective value (the value attributed to land by its owner in expectation of its future revenues). In 1923 the municipality paid only fifteen times higher prices than those of 1915, although there is no doubt that land prices had risen more than that in the meantime. In this way the municipality did not have to compensate for the landowners' loss. Today the Turkish Constitution requires the payment of the market price (the subjective value) in expropriations, which makes the public acquisition of urban land highly expensive.

The increase of the city's population was tremendous, and has continued as follows:

The Population of the City of Ankara

Years	Population
1923	20,000
1927	74,553
1940	157,242
1950	289,197
1960	650,067
1970	1,208,791
1985	2,976,328 (estimated)

Although the expropriations of 1923 provided the city with a unique opportunity, the municipality was not able to benefit from it because no rational urban land policy was followed, and the ownership of land acquired in 1923 has largely been lost.

The population projections were not realistic, so the master plan prepared by Herman Jansen had lost its validity by 1950 when the population increase over twenty years had exceeded the figure estimated for fifty years. For this reason, Jansen had suggested that the population increase should be strictly controlled by the government. This was not possible, however, and the population of the city tripled between 1928 and 1945. Another precondition for successful implementation of the master plan formulated by Jansen was the prevention of land speculation, but the local authorities were unable to take the necessary precautions to curb this, despite the fact that a single party was in power until 1945, and had the power to implement rigidly whatever was in the public interest.

Without any study of the city's needs, the municipality of Ankara decided to enlarge the development area from 2,000 hectares to 16,000 at the end of 1938, ten years after the adoption of the plan. This meant that the municipal boundaries and those of the developed areas were united, and land speculators had the opportunity to act freely in the new town. As a result, of all the problems created from the pressures exerted by rural migrants, squatting has become one of the most difficult for the city to solve. Today, 65 per cent of the population of Ankara live in squatters' houses, which are not only illegally constructed, but also lack most urban public services.

The most important aspect of the Ankara experiment is that it has served as an instrument for a national policy for urban and regional development. Without Ankara the population distribution in Turkey might have been more uneven, and the size of Istanbul might have twice what it is today. Although the experiment was successful from the standpoint of the geographical distribution of the population, it cannot be said that the new town helped to minimize the congestion within metropolitan Ankara or to reduce the city's growth rate. Besides this, Ankara is deprived of a diversified economic base, since it is primarily a service and commercial center which meets the administrative needs of the country.

As a result of the concentration of power and the increasing role of the state, representatives of the central government have dispersed to almost every city and town, large or small, throughout the country. Their dependence on Ankara for orders, approvals, and budgets has drawn the countryside into further contact with the capital, and gives Ankara a form of effective political dominance over the nation which Istanbul never had.

For the new city of Ankara, the government set up a continuous Ankara Planning Commission (Imar Idare Heyeti), directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior, which had complete power over development, including the right to expropriate and subdivide land. It is a well known principle of town and country planning that the public ownership of land in new towns is so important that it should only be given up when there is no other alternative, and that the control of commercial land, in particular, should be retained under public ownership. Urban land should not be the subject of speculation, and the positive values resulting from population growth should be put to work for the public interest. Departure from all these principles was clearly to be seen in the case of Ankara.

During the first years, the government tried to subsidize apartment rents for government personnel, and built apartments for them. The ownership of these rented apartments was retained by the government, and they were rented to officials at nominal or reduced rents. However, the number of these rentals did not exceed a few hundred.

PLANNING EDUCATION

One of the major factors limiting the preparation and implementation of city and regional plans is the lack of qualified personnel; training and education has therefore become a vital necessity. According to estimates, the annual need for additional urban and regional planners in Turkey is about fifty -sixty, but existing institutions training future planners have a yearly capacity of only twenty-five. Lloyd Rodwin estimated that the accumulated need for regional planners would be two hundred in 1963, and a recent survey foresaw that this need would amount to six hundred between 1965 and 1975. At present the annual supply of planners meets a small fraction of the demand in this area.

The manpower concerned with planning and development matters may be grouped into two categories, excluding national economic planners. The first is professional planners; the second is the high ranking officials at local, regional and national posts, and the executives who make and put into force major planning decisions.

University training for planners in Turkey is provided by the Middle East Technical University, which is the only one which teaches planning and grants degrees in the field. The Faculty of Architecture has three departments: Architecture, City and Regional Planning, and Restoration. In the Department of Planning, emphasis is laid on the education of planning generalists to a greater extent than in any other country. However, graduates from departments in other faculties, such as economics, geography, law, administration, and sociology are admitted to the Planning Department for study course of about two years, leading to a master's degree in City Planning. This does not solve the problem since long post-graduate courses do not attract people to this field, especially under the present unfavorable economic conditions where the future of planning as a profession is not secure.

A drawback limiting the opportunity to initiate planning departments in universities other than M.E.T.U. is that higher education institutions in Turkey are divided into two broad categories: those that give training exclusively in the technical sciences such as engineering and architecture, and those that give training in other fields including arts and sciences, social sciences, law and economics. Being administratively independent, and having no coordination among themselves, these institutions are not in a position to establish sound planning education since it requires close interdisciplinary collaboration between technical and non-technical fields.

The Planning Department's program at M.E.T.U. is oriented toward applying the principles and techniques of a physical approach to various aspects of socio-economic development, and university graduates may be accepted for a two-year full-time program, plus one summer's working experience in a planning office. Undergraduate students are accepted for a six-year program in which the first three years are devoted to general background education, and the last three concentrate specifically on planning.

The teaching staff of the Department consists of several full-time assistant professors, and a single associate professor. There is great need for more senior teachers. Since the inauguration of the Department in 1962, about eighty students have graduated, sixty with bachelor degrees and the remaining twenty with the degree of M.C.P. The ratio of bachelors' degrees to masters' is steadily growing. Some of the graduates go abroad for further study and become teachers on their return, while most of the others are employed in public institutions such as the Ministry of Reconstruction, the State Planning Organization, the Iller Bankasi, the Metropolitan Planning Bureaus of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, and in other large municipalities. A regional planning section was established within the Department in 1967 -68, but at present the number of its graduates is only ten.

The main courses given in the City Planning Section are Design, Planning Methodology, Techniques of Urban Planning, History of City Planning, Urban Public Services, Urban Renewal, Housing Planning Law, and Administration, while in the Regional Planning Section, Regional Planning, Regional Geography, Methods of Regional Analysis, Industrial Location, Theory of Regional Planning, and Regional Planning Research and Design are taught.

The program in the Faculty of Architecture of Istanbul Technical University is directed at teaching city and regional planning to architecture students in their third and fourth years through regular courses given as part of the architecture curriculm. The idea behind the introduction of city planning courses as part of normal curriculms is to provide future architects with some basic knowledge of city planning, because at present architects are the only group practicing city planning in Turkey, due to the lack of professional planners. Here again, emphasis is laid on the design aspects of the planning process, and very little reference is made to the socio-economic bases of urban phenomena.
The present courses are only a minor part of the curriculum of the Faculty of Architecture at Istanbul Technical University.

An attempt has recently been made to separate city planning as an independent department offering M.C.P. degrees, and an Institute of City Planning was established in 1967. The main functions of this institute are to organize courses, seminars, conferences, and exhibitions; to open training centers and assist in the development of planning education, including the training of teachers; and to contribute to graduate study in planning. At the present time few graduates of the Faculty of Architecture continue their studies in planning either at home or abroad. The Institute's main difficulty undoubtedly comes from the strictly technical character of the University. It would therefore be desirable as a temporary measure, to provide the department with related courses such as Economics, Sociology, Geography, Law, and Public Administration. Ideally, such subjects should be taught by planner economists, planner sociologists, and professionals with qualifications that are not yet readily available.

City planning courses in the formal architectural curriculum of the State Academy of Fine Arts in Instanbul very similar to those at Istanbul Technical University, and are taken in the fifth to eighth semesters as two hours of lectures and four of studio work. These courses mostly cover the physical aspects of urban planning, and Planning Methodology, History of City Planning, Housing, Preservation of Historic Area, Urban Public Services, Drawing and Presentation Techniques are the most important.

Because the Academy is not able to create more technical or scientific branches, and thus expand beyond its original purpose which is within the framework of fine arts, a design and architecturally oriented concept of city planning was adopted rather than today's more comprehensive approach.

Another program is being carried out in the Faculty of Political Science of Ankar University, consisting of two one-year courses, one in City and Regional Planning, the other in Local Government (both are two hours a week). In addition, several courses such as Urbanization Economics, Community Development, Housing Problems and Policies, and Regional Development are offered to graduate students who are working toward their Ph.D's in political science and economics. The one-year course in planning attempts to give the student a background in comprehensive planning, and covers the social, economic and administrative aspects of the planning process and their interrelations. The emphasis is on urban regional research methods and on means of implementing them. The course aims at giving future administrators an idea of the nature of the planning process, survey methods, plan preparation and implementation, including zoning, subdivision control, urban land policies, community and regional development, housing problems and policies, and the financing of urban public services.

Graduates of the Faculty become junior governors in subprovinces (ilce) employed by the Ministry of the Interior. As chief executives they have wide controlling powers within their jurisdiction in the decisions of all local government units, including municipalities, on financial, administrative and developmental matters. They also have responsibilities related to the implementation of the national development plan. They are, at the same time, eligible for appointment to the Regional Planning Department or to other branches of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

The Institute of Housing and Urban and Regional Planning in the same faculty is more of a research institution, aiming at projects that will ensure more appropriate distribution and settlement of the population in view of available resources, and from natural, health, social, economic and aesthetic standpoints. The Institute was established in 1952, and its members are both faculty members of Ankara University teaching urban and regional development and related subjects, and experts and high ranking government personnel working in the Ministries of Reconstruction and Village Affairs, the S.P.O., etc.

Finally, a section of urban and regional planning was established at the Black Sea Technical University in Trabzon in 1967. This design-oriented program is directed by one full-time associate professor of planning and one assistant, with the collaboration of part-time faculty members from

Istanbul Technical University who visit Trabzon every week to give lectures and direct seminars.

On-the-job training opportunities for planning practitioners exist in Turkey, but they are not always within a systematic program. Architects working in city planning have been trained in this way for many years, and since the establishment of the Regional Planning Department in the Ministry of Reconstruction, professional people from various disciplines have been recruited and trained on the job. Seminars for administrators are organized in the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East, on Turkey's housing, regional planning, and community development problems, while at the same time a regular course in local government is given.

Consideration is given to planning orientation for people who will be concerned administratively with the formulation and implementation of planning decisions. This is done partly by the Turkish Municipal Association, a semi-governmental institution, among whose objectives is to assist the development of the science of human settlements, to encourage seminars, conferences and publications on the legal, administrative, financial and technical problems of municipalities, and to serve as a liaison between institutions with similar aims at home and abroad.

With U.S.A.I.D. financial assistance, the Association organizes courses for the mayors of small municipalities with less than 3,000 population, which last for about two weeks and are given in Ankara. About three hundred mayors attended these courses during 1967 - 69, and received training in such subjects as the structure of local government, the various functions and services of municipalities, planning and development problems, budget-making, and human relations. In addition, the Association organized seven regional meetings for mayors in small-or medium-size centers which were attended by about eight hundred mayors during 1967 - 69. The important subjects dealt with in these seminars were the implementation problems of the Municipal Law, Municipal Revenues, the relationship of the Iller Bankasi's work to the municipalities, the problems of city development plans, and the services provided by the Ministry of Reconstruction to municipalities. The Association has published the papers and proceedings of two seminars, one on metropolitan governments, the other on the problems of large urban centers in Turkey.

The Ministry of Reconstruction has prepared nine-month training programs in Ankara for the technical personnel of municipalities since 1960, in which 250 people have participated. Another training program was organized by the Ministry in collaboration with the Association, for those who wished to become municipal technical personnel. These were attended by one thousand officials in eighteen regional centers. The only handicap to these training courses was that they were short meetings of two to four days.

The Iller Bankasi offers yearly two to six month courses for local personnel working in such areas as electrification, drinking water projects, the operation of diesel engines, as well as courses for municipal accountants; up to now about fifteen hundred officials have attended these.

The Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East organized regional seminars in six cities during 1962 - 63 for municipal accountants and general secretaries, in which about five hundred officials from 364 municipalities participated.

The Ministry of Education also gives professional training courses in technical knowledge to building surveyors, from which six hundred students graduated between 1966 and 1969.

In 1970, the International Union of Local Authorities provided scholarships for eight local government personnel to attend a seminar on the financial development of local government.

The Organization of Regional Cooperation for Development (R.C.D.) offers short-term scholarships for local personnel, and organizes seminars on local government and urbanization. For example, a colloquium was held in Ankara in 1967 on the Role of Local Government in National Development, the papers and proceedings of which were published both in Turkish and English by the Institute of Public Administration.* The subjects discussed in the colloquium were: comparative local government systems, the role of local governments in political development, the problems of social development and local government, the problems of economic development and local government.

The contribution of organizations such as NATO, CENTO and the Council of Europe is quite limited in this area, but CENTO organized a seminar on Urbanization in Ankara, and the papers were later published.**

There are no academic institutions for the training of national development planners. Most of the senior and junior experts working in the State Planning Organization are graduates of the Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University, the Faculty of Economics of Istanbul University, the Faculty of Administrative Sciences of M.E.T.U., and the State Academies of Economics and Commerce, while some of the technical staff completed their graduate or undergraduate studies abroad.

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* Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East, Local Government and National Development, Ankara, 1968.

** Frederick T. Bent and Luise Lackland Shields (eds.), CENTO Symposium of the Role of Local Government in National Development, Office of the U.S. Economic Coordinator for CENTO Affairs, Ankara, 1966.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The training institutions mentioned above benefit from two kinds of technical assistance. One sends young and promising students abroad, providing them with scholarships and fellowships so that they may study for degrees in urban and regional development and planning. The second brings technical advisors to Turkey.

Between 1963 and 1969, 129 people received foreign assistance in the form of scholarships to study urban and regional planning from international organizations. The distribution of these students between government departments and ministries varies greatly.

The percentage of those going abroad to study urban and regional planning is only 3.3 per cent of all scholarship holders;* 55 per cent of all participants are employed by the Ministry of Reconstruction, 28 per cent by the Ministry of Village Affairs, and 3 percent by the universities. This results in limited opportunities to study planning and related fields in Turkish universities. Most scholarships are shorterm, and cannot ensure a sound background in planning. Sixty-one per cent of the participants have spent one to six months abroad, 32 percent six to twelve months, and 7 per cent stayed more than a year, which is only long enough to receive a Master's degree in any specific field of study.

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* Most of the figures concerning technical assistance were obtained from the S.P.O.

The breakdown of scholarship-holders is as follows:

Scholarship-Holders in Urban and Regional Planning and Related Fields

Subjects	No. of Students
Regional Planning and Urbanism	59
River Basin Development	16
Urban Planning	25
Housing	13
Rural Planning	4
Physical Planning	5
Industrial Estates	5
Air Pollution	2
Total	129

About half the scholarship-holders are sent to the United States, France, and Great Britain. The remainder go to West Germany, Italy and Holland.

Countries to Which Students are Sent (Per Cent)

Countries	Per Cent of Students
United States	23
Frances	17
Great Britain	12
West Germany	6
Italy	6
Holland	6
Others	12
Not Known	18

It is important to note that technical assistance in the field of urban and regional planning and development has come primarily from O.E.C.D., and secondly from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Sources of Scholarships in Urban and Regional Planning

Sources	Per Cent of Students	Sources	Per Cent of Students
O.E.C.D.	31	Italy	2
A.I.D.	16	Holland	2
France	9	Japan	1
West Germany	5	Other (CENTO, RCD, etc.)	25
United Nations	5		
Great Britain	4		

The background of most of the students sent abroad to study urban and regional planning is either in agriculture or architecture, and graduates of these faculties represent 30 per cent and 29 per cent of all participants respectively. The percentages of students from the administrative sciences, economics and law are only 7 per cent, 5 percent and 4 per cent respectively.

The second form of foreign technical assistance is given in the form of foreign experts sent to Turkey. About 10 per cent of all the experts who have come to Turkey through O.E.C.D. have been engaged to advise on city and regional planning, while this percentage is only 3 per cent for U.N. experts, 9 per cent for those provided by the German government, and 1 per cent for U.S.A.I.D. experts. Foreign experts in the field of planning have mostly come from O.E.C.D. and the U.N.

Foreign Experts in Urban and Regional Planning

Sources	Per cent of Experts
O.E.C.D.	42
U.N.	26
West German Government	21
U.S.A.I.D.	5
Other Sources	5

The majority of foreign experts in this field (89 per cent) have offered consulting services to the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, while only 5 per cent have worked for the universities. The latter were selected to teach in the Faculty of Architecture of M.E.T.U. where the language of instruction is English. The reason O.E.C.D. has contributed so much to training in planning in Turkey, and that the institution which benefitted most has been the Ministry of Reconstruction, is that the latter's chief consultant on regional planning was Dr. Lloyd Rodwin, an O.E.C.D. consultant who was successful in gathering a number of qualified men to work on the regional planning projects which were initiated by the Turkish government between 1960 and 1965.

The shortcomings of the above figures is that they do not include technical assistance given under the Fulbright program and by private Foundations.

As far as the author knows, the Ford Foundation has not provided scholarships to individuals either in urban and regional planning but has supported the establishment and development of various university departments in these areas, of which the Social Sciences Department at M.E.T.U. and the Population Research Center at Hacettepe University are examples. Assistance from the Fulbright program for scholarships in planning has so far not exceeded fifteen. However, these figures may be found to be incorrect, since the data on technical assistance is given in different context in one of O.E.C.D.'s reports.*

Technical Assistance to Regional Planning from All Sources (1959-1967)

Sources	Consultants man months	Academic Training man months	Practical Training man months	Cost ($000's)
U.N. Expanded Program	88	102	-	145
U.N. Special Fund (Antalya)	483	not available	not available	990
U.S.A.I.D.	18	17	-	45
O.E.C.D.	303	113	139	472
Turkish Government	-	-	25	6
Total	892	232	164	1,658

According to the 1965 census figures there are about 10,000 engineers and architects in Turkey in 1971, whereas the demand is 17,500, so the supply gap is about 7,500. For topographers and cartographers the demand is 1,100 and the supply 800, so the difference is only 300.

RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

The major research institutions in Turkey for urbanization and environmental problems are the universities. The Institute of Urban Planning of Istanbul Technical University, the Institute of Housing, Urban and Regional Planning in the Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University, the Departments of City and Regional Planning and Social Sciences at M.E.T.U., and the Building Research Institute at Istanbul Technical University are the principal research institutions. The S.P.O. Social Planning Department may also be added to this list.

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* O.E.C.D., Technical Cooperation Committee, O.E.C.D. Technical Assistance to Regional Planning in Turkey 1959-1967, TECO (68), Paris.

The Ministry of Reconstruction, particularly its General Directorate of Planning, has concentrated its efforts on various research topics applicable to settement problems. The Department of Regional Planning in this Ministry has already published the results of its research in about thirty volumes, which include surveys of several cities and regions of the country, as well as a few regional plans.

The Housing Research Center in the same ministry deals with the socio-economic and administrative aspects of housing. It has published a number of applied research papers on the squatter areas in such cities as Izmir, Ankara and Bursa in 1966 - 1967. There is also a research unit in this ministry concerned with the technical aspects of the housing problems.

Although they are not research institutes per se, the Ministries of Agriculture, Village Affairs and Forestry conduct research on specific aspects of urban and regional settlement problems.

The Chamber of Turkish Engineers and Architects is also a research-oriented institution, carrying out studies on city development plans, squatter houses, urban land problems and planning education, while the Chambers of Commerce and Industry are concerned with the physical and design aspects of planning industrial estates. The Turkish Municipal Assocation, the Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, and the Turkish Social Science Association may be added to the list of quasi-research institutions.

Support for all these institutions which comes from international aid agencies should be counted as part of technical assistance. Financial opportunities for the associations to carry out research are extremely limited. The Turkish Social Science Association has received assistance of more than $100,000 from the Ford Foundation to study social change in the Izmir metropolitan area.

The Scientific and Technical Research Council should be mentioned among the other research institutions. This is a government agency responsible for carrying out the necessary research (basic or applied) for the introduction of the improved technology required by economic development. For some time, the Council, which is entirely financed by the government, has been engaged in research to measure the degree of air pollution in the city of Ankara.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT

Because of the lack of data, it is not possible to give an accurate picture of the large cities in terms of urban public services and modern urban infrastructure. The information provided below is based both on official statistics, and on our observations and interviews in some of the large cities.

URBAN PUBLIC SERVICES

From the ratio of apartments and houses with piped drinking water, one would get the impression that most of them benefit from this public service. However, the figures obtained from building licenses are entirely misleading, because at least one in four apartments built in large Turkish cities is built without a license from the municipality. According to the official statistics, the ratio of apartments provided with piped water is 72 per cent for places with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants, and 96 per cent for those with more than 100,000. This ratio varies between 80 and 95 per cent in such cities as Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa and Adana.

It is therefore more accurate to use household figures than those of new dwelling constructions, and by applying these one can see that only 50 per cent of all households in cities have drinking water. Another survey made in several selected cities of various sizes give the following ratios:*

Ratio of Households with Piped Drinking Water

Group Sizes	Per Cent of Households
5,000- 10,000	17.7
10,000- 25,000	29.7
25,000- 50,000	41.6
50,000-100,000	37.1
100,000 or more	40.2

This picture becomes more pessimistic when the figures for squatter areas are considered. According to a survey on squatting in Istanbul and Izmir, only 19 per cent and 29 per cent respectively, of all squatter houses benefit from sanitary running water in these cities. Households that do benefit are well-to-do, whereas those that do not are poor. The following comparison between poor and wealthy families gives an idea of the extent of the differences:

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* S.P.O. Belediye Hizmetleri Ozel Ihtisas Komisyonu Raporu (Report of the Working Group on Municipal Services), Ankara, 1966.

Households without Running Water in Large Cities*

Cities	Families with monthly income less than 1,000 T.L. (in percentages)	Families with monthly income less than 2,000 T.L. (in percentages)
Ankara	2.3	81.2
Istanbul	1.9	54.5
Izmir	3.4	83.3
Adana	0.3	75.0
Bursa	0.9	86.1

The amount of water per capita is as important as the ratios of households with running water. According to the statistics provided by the General Directorate of the State Water Works, the number of liters of water consumed per capita in several large cities with more than 100,000 population is as follows:

Per Capita Water Consumed in Large Cities

Cities	Water Consumed (p.c. lt.)
Kayseri	231
Sivas	163
Adana	157
Diyarbakir	154
Bursa	122
Gaziantep	120
Erzurum	111
Malatya	111
Samsun	100
Eskisehir	76
Konya	59

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* D.I.E., *Tuketim Harcamalari Anketleri* (Surveys on Consumption Expenditures) Ankara, 1968-1969.

About 20 per cent of all urban families either do not have private W.C.'s or use shared W.C. facilities in their buildings, and the percentage of households that use a private bath is only 44 per cent. According to building licenses, the percentage of apartments with sanitary sewerage systems is shown below:

Apartments with Sewerage Systems in Large Cities

Cities	Per Cent of Apartments
Cities of 100,000 or less	45
Cities of 100,000 or more	90
Istanbul	92
Ankara	99
Adana	43
Izmir	99
Bursa	100

This, again, may give a misleading impression, because the figures do not include the squatter areas. The percentages of squatter houses that have regular sewerage systems in Istanbul and Izmir is only 18 per cent and 35 per cent respectively. Although public utilities are available throughout the squatter housing areas in Izmir to a greater extent than in other cities, the percentage to which these utility services are connected is not as high as it should be.

A survey on sewage disposal and treatment in 1966 established the following picture:

Sewage Disposal in Municipalities of 5,000 Inhabitants and over (per cent)

Group Sizes	Holes	Canals	Dwellings with sewage systems connected to streets	p.c.municipal expenditures for this service
5,000 - 10,000	34	30	7	100 krs.
10,000 - 25,000	40	27	17	88
25,000 - 50,000	37	55	7	162
50,000 -100,000	21	54	3	157
100,000 and over	62	34	-	67
Istanbul	44	56	-	177
Ankara	15	68	17	547
Izmir	6	58	6	660
Turkey	34	49	8	182

It is interesting to see that 29.7 per cent of the households which are not connected to a sewage disposal system of any kind are in Ankara. In other words, 17 per cent of Ankara households let their sewage lie in the streets.

Municipalities do not have enough financial power to spend sufficient sums on improving sewerage conditions. The foregoing table shows that a yearly average of only 182 krs. (12 cents) is spent on sewerage in Turkish municipalities. The figures for Ankara and Izmir are 547 and 660 krs. (36 and 44 cents) respectively, while in Istanbul this figure is as low as 177 krs. It is clearly impossible to make the necessary investments to improve the quality of these services with such small expenditures.

The reconstruction of a sanitary sewerage system is estimated to require an investment of 6,346,800,000 T.L.; the breakdown of this expenditure is shown below by demand categories from various cities:

Estimated Expenditures for the Construction of a Sewerage System

Cities	Expenditures
Istanbul	2,300,000,000 T.L.
Ankara	1,000,000,000 T.L.
Izmir	460,000,000 T.L.
27 cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more	2,132,000,000 T.L.
30 cities of 10,000-50,000	200,000,000 T.L.
44 touristic settlements	254,000,000 T.L.
Total	6,346,800,000 T.L.

The sewerage system of Adana has been surveyed by the World Health Organization.

Nor do the municipalities spend enough money to perform satisfactory street cleaning services, because their revenue sources are limited, and they do not charge the taxpayers as much as they could. For instance in 1966, in a large city of 150,000 inhabitants, the municipality paid 5,270 T.L. for the sewage disposal service of a single building, while the occupants of that building paid only 694 T.L. for garbage disposal. The reason is that local authorities do not have sufficient taxation powers to meet these expenditures, or they do not carry out local regulations properly.

The construction and maintenance of expressways, major highways and paved streets is not satisfactory either, even within several large cities. They are taken care of by the State Highways Department of the Ministry of Public Works. The general level of increase in the transport of goods and people throughout the country, and especially in big cities, has caused very costly transportation, traffic and road safety problems.

The Istanbul metropolitan area in the Marmara region is subject to intense traffic for twenty-four hours a day. The construction of the Bosphorus Bridge, the surrounding highway systems connecting the city to the main roads, and the metro are attempts to solve the rapidly growing transportation problems of the city. Apart from the official policy decision, most scholars are of the opinion that the bridge is not economical, that it is likely to attract a high concentration of population in the metropolitan areas, and that eventually it will expand the settled area of the city as far as there are large enough parcels of vacant urban land, both on the European and Anatolian sides.

Another major project of international concern, also part of the national, metropolitan and regional development strategy, is the extension of the European freeway down to the Southeastern parts of Turkey, which would establish a larger and more efficient link between Europe and the Middle East. The Istanbul-Iskenderum express highway crossing the country on a northwest-southeast axis will connect many of the regional centers and link the Marmara and Cukurova, two of the most rapidly developing regions of the country.

Both the prevention of accidents and the provision of road safety measures are important problems in Turkey. During 1963-1967 the number of traffic accidents increased at a rate of 6.6 per cent annually, with a net figure of 829 accidents a year. Most of these take place in the Marmara region and the metropolitan areas.

HOUSING

The government is unable to provide good, safe and sanitary housing accommodation for all citizens, although the constitution says, "The State shall take measures to meet the housing needs of the poor and of low-income families in accordance with their health requirments." One of the most important reasons for the housing crisis is rapid urbanization and the excessive concentration of population in large metropolitan areas. State and local governments and private entrepreneurs either make insufficient investments in housing, or those they do make are not made with a view to find- realistic solutions for the housing shortage. Thus two types of housing investment attract most of the available resources: one is luxury housing--luxury in the sense that it is costly, and the floor space areas are larger than the needs of an average size family; and the other type is squatter housing.

Almost all migrant families combine their own labor with their modest savings and build squatter houses in the large cities. What is lacking are the decent housing units that most of these families need. Since this kind of dwelling unit is not built by public institutions or by private entrepreneurs, people try to fill the gap themselves by building squatter houses. It was estimated that during the First Five-Year Development Plan the housing supply gap would be around 168,000, and by the end of that time about the same number of squatter houses had been built in the large cities.

The ratio of people per room in urban areas is 2.05, whereas it should not be greater than one, and in some of the squatter areas of Ankara and Istanbul it is as high as 2.4.* Only a very few developing nations have a ratio this high. Only 40 per cent of urban accommodations are satisfactory, 33 per cent are medium, and the remaining 27 per cent are bad.

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* Turhan Yorukan, Gecekondular ve Gecekondu Bolgelerinin Sosyo Kulturel Ozellikleri (Squatter Houses and Socio-Cultural Characteristics of Squattering Areas). Ankara, 1968.

More than 60 per cent of all families in Turkey live either in one-or two-bedroom dwelling units, though the average size of a household is 5.06 people.

Number of Rooms Occupied by Families

No. of Rooms	Per Cent of Total Households
1	25
2	38
3	20
4	11
5 and over	5
unknown	1

The construction ratio of housing is two per 1,000 population, in Turkey. The comparable figure is between three and ten in other non-industrialized and industrialized countries.

Overcrowding is not the only indicator of bad housing conditions; the situation is also inadequate from the standpoint of the facilities available in houses. According to the 1965 census, in localities with less than 10,000 population, 97 per cent of households lacked electricity, 98 per cent lacked running water, and all of them lacked gas. In provincial and sub-provincial centers, 34 per cent lacked electricity, 43 per cent lacked running water, and 92 per cent lacked gas. The average figures for twenty large cities were 23.6 per cent, 55 per cent, and 96.6 per cent respectively.

Squatter houses are substandard dwelling units with very poor sanitary conditions, no ventilation or light; they are damp and musty, and critically overcrowded. On average, there are 2.29 households in a single squatter house with 4.95 people per household, or 11 per house. The floor space area of most of these houses varies between forty and sixty square meters.

The total number of squatter houses and the population living in them are the most significant indicators of the poor housing conditions in Turkey. By 1970, there were 500,000 such houses in cities, with 2.5 million people living in them. This is 25 per cent of the total urban population compared with about 20 per cent in 1960. Since the number of squatter houses increases despite the fact that their construction has been declared illegal, neither local authorities nor the Ministry of Reconstruction is able to provide the necessary funds to alleviate the situation, or provide people with decent housing conditions. The table below gives the approximate extent of the problem in the major large cities:

The Extent of the Squatter Problem in Large Cities

Cities	Per Cent of Urban Population Living in Squatter Houses
Ankara	65
Istanbul	45
Izmir	35
Bursa	25
Adana	45
Diyarbakir	20

Investment in housing amounts to 22 per cent of the total funds available for capital formation, while the upper limit set for it by the Development Plan was 20 per cent. Again, the share of housing investments in the G.N.P. is 3.6 per cent, whereas the upper limit was only 3 per cent. The Plan estimated that during the five years 1968-1972, 900,000 dwelling units would be needed in urban areas, but only 650,000 dwellings can be constructed within this period, despite the fact that housing investments exceeded the amount allowed by the Plan.

This means that the housing problem in Turkey is partly one of financial resources, since four billion T.L. are invested annually in this sector, and the increase in this figure in recent years has not ensured a solution to the housing shortage. Measures in the Plan were accentuated with the intention of reducing average floor space area of urban dwellings from one hundred square meters to eighty-five to produce more units without increasing the amount of investment. Since the government can only influence 15 per cent of the total housing investment through taxes and housing credit policies, it is clear that the social housing policy cannot be effectively implemented, and consequently the demand gap will be filled by squatter houses.

Major Elements of Housing Needs (1968-1972)	
Population increase	756,970
Clearance of squatter houses	37,500
Renewal of conventional dwellings	60,000
Earthquakes and expropriations	20,000
Elimination of overcrowding	50,000
Total	925,370

The role of the government both as an investor and as a planner is rather limited in the housing sector. Direct government investment is no more than 3 per cent of the total investment in housing, but the government does try to assist low income families through the Emlak Kredi Bankasi (Real Estate Bank) and the Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (Social Insurance Agency).

The first of these two public institutions is a state bank which was created in 1946. It is responsible for making mortgage loans of around 40,000 T.L. to low-and middle-income families over twenty-year periods at the low interest rate of 5 per cent. However, because of existing prices these loans are never sufficient to buy a good house, and in the large cities most of the borrowers are forced to look for additional funds from other sources to by an apartment.

The Real Estate Bank also constructs and sells houses to families who want them. The Atakoy and Levent communities in Istanbul, which are successfully planned neighborhood units, are the work of this bank. The problem is that it has built expensive, luxury houses, and therefore has not contributed much to solving the housing problems of low-income families; so far it has financed the construction of 6,000-7,000 dwellings annually, which is only 5 per cent of the annual housing production figure.

The second institution is the Social Insurance Agency which primarily finances workers' housing cooperatives. This was established in 1946, and has made low interest long-term loans to about 1,500 housing cooperatives. The terms of its loans are twenty years' duration at an interest rate of 4 per cent, and between 1950 and 1970 these cooperatives built 50,000 workers' dwellings. Until a few years ago the Agency gave 40,000 T.L. to every worker who was a member of a housing cooperative, but this figure has been increased to 60,000 T.L. because of the effects of inflation.

The average annual construction of 2,500 dwellings is rather a negligible figure considering the heavy demand for housing in urban areas, and only 3 per cent of all the members of this Insurance Agency have been fortunate enough to get houses with the assistance of its loans. This is because the authorizing law requires the establishment of a housing cooperative of at least seven people, and the deposit of a down payment equal to 10 per cent of the estimated cost of the building. Most workers are not able to save that much money, and lack the knowledge and habit of working together within a cooperative.

In addition, the Agency's control over the cooperatives, where most of the members are totally ignorant of the procedures involved in the construction process, was not exercised properly. As a result, middle-and higher-income white collar workers benefitted from the opportunity instead of low-income manual workers. Moreover, since the ownership of cooperative apartments has not been maintained by the cooperatives, the members have felt free to rent or sell the dwellings, making it possible to deviate from the social objective that the project intended to serve.

There are several other funds created by other public agencies, such as the Military Insurance Agency, which makes loans to meet the housing needs of its members. The major problem with all these efforts is that a national social housing policy, and the administrative machinery to implement such a policy, does not exist. A new draft law is now being discussed by the Council of Ministers to direct all the funds available to the most urgent housing needs.

GOVERNMENTAL AND CIVIC CENTERS

Planned governmental, civic, and commercial centers are only to be found in city development plans prepared after the Second World War, and especially since 1960 when a group of young planners entered this field. In traditional Islamic towns, the mosque and bazaar are the main elements of the city center. In most large and medium-sized Turkish cities, which are under the influence of the Islamic religion, this pattern can be clearly observed even today, despite the addition of government buildings. In most of them the old center is mixed with modern buildings, and it is almost impossible to delineate the traditional center because of the lack of any reasonable conservation policy. What has taken place is merely a haphazard renewal of the old cities under pressures of land speculation.

In almost every large city or metropolis, a new development plan requires a modern core consisting of up-to-date construction in line with building and planning regulations and zoning ordinances. Except in Istanbul, which has become a multinucleated metropolis,* modern civic centers have developed whenever the finances of municipalities were sufficient. Perhaps Ankara is the best example of a town with a zoning ordinance which established a large quarter of govermental buildings separate from the old city center.

In cities with 150,000 population and over, triple appearance patterns can almost be defined. Around the traditional center, the small neighborhood representing the old values, with old building styles and a traditional economic structure, may be called, as Gideon Sjoberg described, the pre-industrial part of the city. The existence of a modern, or westernized, section, with high apartments and wide streets around a commercial or governmental center is also common, and these two parts cover almost half the city. The other half is entirely occupied by poor families living in squatter houses, which develop around commercial and other centers which they create themselves, sometimes by disregarding building and planning laws. It would therefore not be unjust to say that government, civic, and business centers are seldom fully realized, although they are present in development plans.

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* Erol Tumertekin, Istanbul'un Merkezi Is Sahalari (The Central Business Districts of Istanbul), Istanbul, 1966.

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CONSERVATION AND OPEN SPACES

The role that Turkey has played in world history has made it a rich archeological and historical center. Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, Kayseri, Adana, Elazig, Erzurum and Bursa are all cities filled with buildings of historic and artistic value, and there is no doubt that the conservation of historical and natural beauty is part of culture and education.

A law was passed in 1951 (No. 5085) to create a High Council of Historic Monuments and Treasures. According to this law, "A High Council of Historic Monuments and Treasures attached to the Ministry of Education has been established to formulate policies and principles concerning regulations for the conservation, maintenance and restoration of the architectural and historical monuments of the country, and to follow up and control their implementation". The same law requires that all public institutions, agencies, and individuals obey the decisions of the Council wherever they are involved. In carrying out the development plans of cities, municipalities are required to act according to the Council's decisions regarding the architectural and historical monuments within their boundaries.

The conservation of nature and natural beauty is another point of concern. The Forestry Law (No. 6831) empowers the government, through the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Forestry and Tourism, to take over the ownership of areas of natural beauty and historical, aesthetic, or Touristic value, or places that are beneficial to the health and well being of the public. The same law enables the government "to establish national parks in suitable forested areas in order to put them to use for scientific purposes, to preserve nature, to meet the sport and entertainment needs of the public, and to help the development of tourism." Today there are ten national parks, seven large and three small; twelve hunting reserves, whose number will reach twenty-three by the end of 1971, and eight hunting resource development stations for the breeding of game animals. Only three of the national parks are near large cities--

Bursa, Ankara, and Adana.

Large Turkish cities do not follow the policy of preserving open spaces or of establishing parks within their boundaries, but planting trees on the streets is one of the municipal functions stated in the Municipal Law of 1930 (No. 1580, Art. 15/31), as was the opening of municipal gardens and playgrounds (Art. 15/33). In order to facilitate the expropriation of the land necessary to establish open spaces and green areas, the Town Planning Law enables municipalities to take over land which is planned for green spaces from other public institutions without paying any compensation (Art. 31), and they may not give building licenses to private individuals for building on this land. According to Article 37 of the same law, "The municipality does not permit the subdivision of land in these areas."

In practice, however, municipalities seldom overcome the pressure of land speculators and various government agencies, and are finally forced to modify their original plans, which means the exclusion of parks and open spaces. Ankara is one such example. Today the total green space amounts to about 1,600,604 square meters. This totals 0.6 square meter per capita, including parks, playgrounds and other green spaces. There are two large, seven medium size and twelve small parks, and seventy-four playgrounds in the capital. It is interesting to note that per capita green area in the city was 1.2 square meters in 1965, and 0.8

square meters in 1969. The comparative situation of Ankara and several other large cities in Europe is shown below:

Per Capita Green Space in European Cities
(in square meters)

Berlin	27
Graz	35
Odense	34
Copenhagen	21
The Hague	5.3
Amsterdam	2.5
Hamburg	3.6
Ankara	0.6

To open up green spaces and parks is also a matter of financial resources, and none of the Turkish municipalities are sufficiently powerful financially to provide satisfactorily large open spaces for their inhabitants. For example, in 1969 the municipality of Ankara allocated only 8.5 million T.L. (5 T.L. per capita) for this service.

AIR POLLUTION

One of the major negative effects of increasing urbanization is air pollution. In several cities it became critical in the 1960s, and again Ankara is the major problem area because of its topographical location and the use of lignite, which has a high sulphur content, for heating and industrial use. According to a survey made in the winter of 1966, there is 0.171 mgr. smoke to one cubic meter of air in Ankara, which increases to 0.250 mgr. in colder weather. The internationally accepted criteria stipulate that the amount of smoke should not exceed 0.050 mgr. and that of sulphur dioxide should not be more than 0.150 mgr. Another survey established that air pollution had become 2.2 times worse than it was ten years ago. Parallel to the increase in air pollution, cases of cancer increased sixfold, and critical chest diseases sevenfold.

The basic causes of air pollution in Istanbul are similar to those in Ankara. This city is the site of approximately 50 per cent of the industrial activities of the entire nation, and the emission from houses and industrial units is much denser than elsewhere. The downtown area, sheltered from the wind, is continuously exposed to smoke from ship stacks and to exhaust from motor vehicles. The problem of air pollution is appearing even in the areas surrounding the metropolitan city, since cheap land, labor, and easy transportation are attracting an ever-increasing number of investors to these areas.

Precautions to prevent air pollution have not developed in Turkey, because the problem was unknown until recently. However, certain activities have been under way, both at central and local levels, for some time; for example, the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance in collaboration with the Institute of Hygiene tries to measure the degree of pollution. At present Turkey is acting as co-pilot with the Federal Republic of Germany in the Air Pollution Project of the NATO/CCMS (Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society), of which the United States is the pilot country. Measurements are being made with technical devices given to the Scientific and Technical Research Council by the U.S. government. In collaboration with the Middle East Technical University, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources is developing a smokeless fuel project, and is about to conclude feasibility studies. It is expected that a factory will be established to produce 130,000 tons of smokeless fuel by the end of 1972.

The municipality of Ankara is now looking for ways of heating the city by gas instead of lignite, and the Scientific and Technical Research Council has undertaken a study on central heating. All the institutions concerned are making a concentrated effort to control the pollution before it begins. At the international level, the government of Turkey is participating in NATO and Council of Europe activities in this field, while the government has prepared a draft law codifying the functions and powers of the Ministries of Public, Health, Engery and Natural Resources, and Transportation, and the municipalities in the field of air pollution.

URBAN LAND PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

According to the Constitution of Turkey (Article 36) individual ownership rights are protected, provided that these rights do not conflict with the public interest. Public authorities usually own a limited amount of land. It is not easy to differentiate between national and local government policies regarding urban land problems, because in this respect the role of local authorities is quite limited, with the national government formulating policy. The basic principles of the urban land policy can be found in the First and Second Five-Year Development Plans and in several laws concerning housing conditions, land speculation and squatter houses.

It is estimated that in Turkish cities 20 to 30 per cent of the cost of a dwelling unit is taken up by the land. It therefore becomes important to try to reduce the effects of this cost on house construction. In the First Plan it was stated that measures would be taken to prevent land speculation, and to enable low-income families to purchase the land they needed at reduced and equitable prices. In order to discourage the ownership of vacant parcels of urban land, the First Plan provided that this land, and any increase in its value, should be taxed. The contribution of landowners to the cost of the urban infrastructure which is provided to them on the basis of current land values was another important measure in the Plan. Since the subdivision of the land outside city limits is not prevented by law, the Plan holds the Ministry of Reconstruction responsible for controlling development outside city boundaries.

One of the most important problems of squatter areas in Turkey, as in other developing nations, is that of land ownership since these dwellings are built on land belonging to others. The owners of this occupied land are private individuals, municipalities, the central government or provincial local administrations. Surveys conducted so far have indicated that only 35 per cent of all the land occupied by squatters belongs to private individuals, while the share of public land is 65 per cent. The First Five-Year Development Plan gave top priority to the solution of land ownership in squatter areas. According to the Plan, the three criteria to be considered were the social and economic objectives of the Plan, the right of ownership, and the public interest. The establishment of a central land agency was among the policy decisions.

The urban land policies of the Second Five-Year Development Plan are almost the same as those of the First, including the need to prevent land speculation and ensure an increase in public control over urban land, especially in the expansion areas of cities. It must be pointed out that although one of the principles of the Second Plan forbids the sale of publicly owned land, on another page it states that "public land will be sold through a single organization in such a way that low cost housing construction will be assisted."

Two regulations concerning urban land are worth mentioning here. One is the Central Urban Land Agency Law, passed in 1969 (No. 1164), with the purpose of preventing land speculation, and to provide building sites for the needs of industrial and touristic installations and establishments, and for low-cost housing projects. The Urban Land Agency is a public corporation attached to the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, whose functions and powers include buying land for such purposes as housing, tourism, industrial estates and similar public services, establishing reserved land holdings for use when needed, selling or renting land to needy families, and providing, partially or totally, urban public services to the building sites.

Although its powers are vast, this Agency is deprived of the means, both in land and in money, to carry out its functions properly. The revolving fund which the Agency possesses consists of only 250 million T.L., and it is expected that this will be paid out of the central government budget within ten years. For the present, the Agency is not functioning because it is a newly created organization and has not had enough time to complete the hiring of its personnel. It is therefore early yet to indicate whether its role in dealing with land problems will be a successful one or not.

The second is the law on Squatter Houses that was passed in 1966 (No. 775). This provides that cheap land will be offered by public authorities to the owners of squatter houses which are to be removed, and that certain areas are to be designated for resettlement of rural migrants in order to prevent squatting. Land is bought or expropriated, then parcelled out and alloted to the applicants after the installation of infrastructural facilities has been completed.

Municipalities are empowered to obtain land from three major sources so that they may allocate it for the purposes stated in the law. The first source includes all land in the surrounding areas of cities or within municipal boundaries to the central government, to provincial local administrations, or to institutions with annexed budgets; municipalities were authorized to obtain such land freely. The second source is the land owned by the traditional pious foundations (Vakiflar), the heritage of an important charity institution which was taken over by the government after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923. Land to be transferred to municipalities should not be planned for public service use, nor should it be of a historic character, and municipalities are obliged to pay the price of land that they obtain from these institutions. The third source is the holdings of private individuals. Privately owned land and buildings on such land can either be expropriated or bought, for which municipalities are required to obtain permission from the Ministry of Reconstruction. It should not be forgotten that very few municipalities in Turkey can afford to pay prohibitive market prices for the land needed for developmental purposes, and therefore the first land source is the major one that they can use. In fact, however, the amount of urban land available for housing and other purposes within municipal boundaries or on the peripheries of major cities is so limited that municipalities have never received as much as they hoped for.

The land they do have can be used exclusively for the construction of dwelling units. Where the houses will be built is first determined by the municipal councils, which are the elected agencies of local governments, and their decisions are subject to the approval of the Ministry of Reconstruction. This Ministry can approve construction of social housing totally or partially, reject it, or ask for a revision. Such central government control is exercised over most local decisions. Finally, municipalities have the right to rent, sell or evaluate some of the land they take from the abovementioned sources, but this land should be in central business districts of the cities concerned, and therefore its value should be high; secondly, it should not be reserved in the city's master plan for urban public services; and finally, it should not be appropriated for the construction of low-cost housing. The Ministry also has the right to approve municipal decisions about renting or selling land thus acquired. The right of municipalities to sell urban land is strongly criticized by Turkish academic circles, since it is in conflict with the Development Plan objective to increase the amount of public land in cities, and not to sell it.

About half a dozen laws concerning housing, land development and squatting in Turkey have been passed since the end of the Second World War, all on the same principle of acquiring as much land as possible, and then giving it out at reasonable or nominal prices to needy families. By this mechanism, the individual ownership of urban land becomes the rule, while public ownership of such land becomes the exception. In some places in Ankara, the municipality has had to pay several hundred Turkish lira for one square meter of land which was sold for one lira twenty or thirty year ago.

Clearly there is no local urban policy in Turkey because of the highly centralized political system of the country. It is not right to give a great deal of power to municipalities, as they do not have qualified personnel or the necessary means to carry out such an important policy. The land problem is frequently viewed by local authorities as a matter of reducing the cost of housing construction. For instance, the Municipal Law of 1930 (No. 1580, Art. 15/68) required that "All municipalities, small or large, have an optional function to acquire land in development and expansion areas of cities, to develop it in accordance with the new master plans, and to curb land speculation by selling it to those families who are willing to build new dwellings." The municipalities did not make use of this power because another article of the Municipal Law forbade the allocation of funds for the execution of any optional function unless and until the municipalities had performed their obligatory functions. Although this limiting article was abolished in 1960, thirty years after the Municipal Law was passed, the extent of the problems and the funds involved in acquiring land on the peripheries of large cities has by now rendered the application of the law almost impossible.

An important factor responsible for the inertia of municipal governments vis-a-vis urban land problems is the nature of the expropriation legislation. According to Article 38 of the Constitution, "State and public institutions are empowered to expropriate, totally or partially, land and buildings under private ownership in accordance with regulations and procedures defined by law in cases where the public interest requires it, provided that their real value are compensated for in advance." This article has created certain problems for public institutions which are in need of urban land. In countries like Turkey, the payment of "development value," rather than the "existing use value" makes many of the municipalities' planned activities impossible, including the execution of master plans.

It was just because of the limiting nature of this article that the Supreme Court (the Constitutional Court) in 1963 had to annul Article 42 of the Town and Country Planning Law, concerning the municipalities' rights to take over ownership of all the land within a specific area in a city where planned activity is taking place, (parking area, green space, etc.), and to redistribute such land to its former owners with a maximum loss of 25 per cent, without paying any compensation (reallotment). Since this very important article was annulled, large Turkish municipalities have been seriously handicapped in the implementation of their development plans, especially in the central business districts.

The Constitution is presently under revision, and it is expected that the criterion used to determine the amount of compensation will be the tax value of land (i.e.,the declared value of land on the basis of which land taxes are levied), and the principle of advance payment will be replaced by payment in installments over twenty years.

Neither the national nor local governments carry out any rational policy in the use of their land; instead of retaining it they sell it to private buyers in order to alleviate their financial problems. Municipalities such as Istanbul and Ankara have preferred to sell significant amounts of urban land in the last twenty years in order to pay their debts, and sometimes to pay for current expenditures, although just the opposite policy has been stipulated in National Development Plans since 1963.

Short-term leases may be used in practice, because Article 64 of Law No. 2290 empowers public authorities to lease their land and buildings for not less than one month, and not more than five years. The leasehold system which makes it possible to rent land for much longer periods is not as a rule used, although it was for a long time in the Ottoman Empire.

For planning purposes, municipalities have the power to limit the right of individuals to use their land. For example, the owners of land allocated for such urban public services as roads, green spaces, or parking areas in the master plan cannot obtain building licenses from the municipalities. However, this local government right to postpone individuals' use of their property rights is not absolute, because citizens may use these rights after a period of four years if the planned development has not taken place. At the end of five years, the municipality may no longer postpone the granting of licenses.

The municipality may also force landowners to begin construction on their land within a certain period if the land is in sections of the city which have all the urban public services. Landowners who do not complete construction within five years have to accept the right of local authorities to expropriate their land, subject to the approval of the Ministry of Reconstruction. Since the application of this sanction is dependent upon the availability of municipal funds, it is impossible to carry it out properly, or to prevent the unplanned and haphazard development of cities. However, families who have been given building sites through special housing laws, such as the Squatter Dwellings Law, are required to start construction within one year of the acquisition of the site, and to finish it within two years.

Limitations on the height and character of residential, industrial and commercial areas are decided upon by local zoning ordinances. Both the formulation and application of height zoning regulations in large cities are often under partisan pressures from various groups, and it is not difficult to observe frequent changes in these legislations. Only landowners, but not public authorities, benefit from two- or threefold increases in land values in relatively short periods of time.

Municipalities have the power to control the subdivision of land both within cities and or their peripheries, and they do not allow landowners to subdivide any pieces of land allocated for urban public services in the city plans. Municipal councils decide on the minimum size of land parcels outside the residential zones. To carry out municipal control powers, including the control of land subdivision on the periphery of cities, one must depend upon permission from the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement. This time-consuming procedure causes tremendous land speculation to take place in the surrounding areas of cities; it is estimated that approximately 25,000 hectares of land are taken annully from agricultural use and put into urban development. In a country heavily dependent on agricultural products, this loss creates a serious problem. The Constitution (Article 36) deals with this when it states that the use of land should not be in conflict with the public interest.

The amount of agricultural land in use is estimated to be between 23.5 and 26 million hectares, and 70 per cent of it is reported to be subject to varying degrees of erosion, which is particularly pronounced in the Central Anatolian pastures and on the sloping land used for grain farming. Over twenty million hectares (26.4 per cent of the total national area) are suffering from water erosion, and according to various estimates, approximately 450 million to one billion tons of soil are lost annually.

REVENUES FROM LAND RESOURCES

The taxes levied on land and improvements in urban areas are crucial problems in Turkey. The revenues from the major property (land and buildings) taxes largely belong to the local authorities, and since there are three kinds of local government units, they are shared. The Land and Building Taxes Law which has been in force up to the present, goes back as far as 1936. According to this law, land within city boundaries is taxed differently from that outside, the former considered urban and the latter agricultural. All revenues are collected by the provincial local administrations, who transfer 25 per cent of building tax revenues collected within municipal boundaries to the municipalities concerned. Taxes on non-urban land collected from outside city limits are shared between provincial local administrations and village administrations.

Several points should be mentioned concerning land and building taxes. The first is that they are levied on the basis of land values, and to increase revenues from this requires a continuous, or at least frequent, system of registration and assessment of these values. It is known that assessments on which land taxes are based depend on registrations carried out before the Second World War; land values have increased substantially since then. This is a very important factor, and it is responsible for very low revenue figures from land and building taxes; for example, the total revenues obtained by the Turkish municipalities from this source in 1963 was only fifteen million T.L.

Increase in Land Values Between 1936 and 1960*

Total Value of Urban Land (in T.L.)

1936	1960	Increase
416,225,687	2,120,649,604	1,704,423,917
		409 per cent

The relative importance of land and building taxes in the total municipal revenues was only 1.7 per cent in that year.

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* Source: Teoman Yayin, *Merkezi Idare ile Mahalli Idarelar Arasinkaki Mali Iliskiler* (Financial Relationship between the Central Government and Local Authorities), Ankara, 1971 pp. 108-114. The effect of inflation has not been included.

Another point is the tax rate. Until 1960 this varied between 0.5 and 1 per cent of the annual net revenue from property. In 1960, the military government increased the land and building tax rate to 10 per cent, but since no effort was made to renew the registration of land values this increase has not proved effective.

The last point is that the division of these revenues among the various local authorities should be balanced. Although the lion's share of revenues from land and building taxes goes to provincial local administrations, they have transferred many of their functions to the municipalities. A revision of this sharing therefore became necessary, and a new law was passed in 1970, which brought some changes in the rate, tax basis, and division of revenues.

According to the new land and building tax law of 1970, the basis of taxation is not the registred value which was fixed some thirty-five years ago, but the value declared by the owner, which is subject to government control. There is no doubt that in a country like Turkey, with an inefficient tax administration, it is almost impossible to control faulty declarations.

The law differentiates between land and buildings, and again between urban and non-urban land. The rates for the building tax are shown below:

For buildings of which the value is:

less than 50,000 T.L. ....0.007 of its value

less than 100,000 T.L.	....	0.008 of its value
less than 150,000 T.L.	....	0.009 " " "
more than 150,000 T.L.	....	0.010 " " "

Urban land is defined as that within municipal boundaries. The urban land tax rate is 0.015, while that for non-urban land varies between 0.002 and 0.010. The reason why urban land is taxed differently is to discourage urban land speculation. The law defined the tax value as the current value of buildings and land, a definition which gives rise to hope for an absolute increase in revenues from land and building taxes, because although the declared value of the land as the basis of the tax will only be favorable if it is not less than current market prices, there is no doubt that it will yield more revenues than before.

Land and building taxes are collected, according to the present law, by the central government, and are shared among the municipalities, provincial local administrations, and villages. Fifty percent of the revenues collected within municipal boundaries is given to the municipality, 30 per cent goes to the provincial local administration, and the remaining 20 per cent is taken by the Ministry of Finance on behalf of the central government in return for its collection service. Seventy percent of the revenues collected from taxes on non-urban land belongs to the provincial local administrations, which are required to transfer 3 per cent to the Iller Bankasi for the accounts of village administrations.

Apart from their share of land taxes, municipalities have their own revenue from land and buildings. One source is from charges imposed on the beneficiaries of street cleaning and lighting services. It is appropriate to include this with revenues from real estates, because it is assessed on the basis of rent for buildings, and the value of land. Street cleaning and lighting charges are determined by municipal council decision, not to exceed 2.5 per cent of the assessed net rent in unrented buildings, 5 per cent of the rent in rented buildings, and 0.005 of the value of rented land (Municipal Revenues Act, 1952, No. 5237, Article 9).

Street cleaning and lighting services should normally be paid for from these revenues, and should not be a burden on other sources. In practice the municipalities do have to refer elsewhere to keep cleaning and lighting even at a minimum level. For example, in 1955 one of the largest municipalities spent 389,699 T.L. for cleaning and lighting, while the revenue obtained from charges for these services was only 63,966 T.L., or 16.4 per cent of the expenditures. Thus the municipality had to take 325,732 T.L. from other sources in order to carry out these services.

A charge is levied for improvements. Because of rapid urbanization and planned activities of municipalities, land and buildings' values reached very high levels, so the tax on increases in the land values aims to transfer part of these artifical increases to revenue for local authorities. According to the Municipal Revenues Law, if the value of real estate increases as a result of expropriation, by which a front is widened; or a property is opened onto a street, a city garden, a square, or a park; or if the real estate becomes more valuable as a result of the construction of quays, small harbors, parks, playgrounds, piers or the widening of streets; the charge for this increase in value is calculated as half the difference between the assessed new and the old values of the real estate. Since this local improvement charge is dependent on expropriation, it is not productive because there are many other factors besides expropriation that can cause increased land values. It is because of the limited applicability of this article that improvement revenues for large municipalities are negligible. For instances, the municipality of Ankara obtained an amount not exceeding 0.5 per cent of its total revenue from this source during 1950-1960.

A third source of income is citizens' contributions to municipal expenditures. Owners of land and buildings are required to contribute for such local services as road construction, water supply, sewage disposal, mapping and master planning. One third of these expenditures is charged to landowners around the service area, while the entire expenditure is charged for mapping and master plan preparation . The revenues from this source are also negligible, and do not exceed 1 per cent of the total.

Another source of income for municipalities is the rents from their property, and the revenue obtained by selling it. The share of revenue from this source (land and buildings) is only 8.7 per cent for municipalities and 34.8 per cent for provincial local administrations.

A series of laws have been passed during the past few years in order to levy taxes related to property in various ways. Although these may be considered real estate taxes, their revenues belong to the central government, and their use for urbanization problems and for large urban centers is therefore only indirect. One of these taxes concerns increases in land value, and its main purpose is to curb land speculation and complete land taxation. The seller has to pay a sum equivalent to 15 to 50 per cent of the difference between the value of the land at the time of its acquisition and its present sale value. The rate of this tax increases proportionately to the increase in value of the property concerned.

The second tax is one imposed on everyone who applies to a municipality to obtain a building license, but is separate from the building license charge which is collected by the municipalities. Only touristic establishments and industrial and residential buildings for social purposes constructed by housing cooperatives are exempt from this tax. The law tries to discourage the construction of very large dwelling units by progressively increasing the tax rate. For example, it is 20 T.L. for dwellings of 100-120 square meters, while it is 125 T.L. for those larger than 200 square meters.

The third and last tax is that on real estate acquisition. This is paid by anyone who buys a piece of land or a building, and its purpose is to keep the exchange of real estate to a minimum, and to prevent land speculation. The selling price is, as a rule, the basis for this tax, and its rate is 0.070, which is reduced when the real estate for sale is social housing, workers' housing, or a smaller dwelling unit.

These last three taxes are intended to provide more funds for the central government, and local governments can only benefit indirectly from them. Discouraging the building of luxury housing and preventing land speculation are merely indirect objectives of these taxes, as is indicated by the fact that they were levied in 1970, just after the devaluation of the Turkish lira, in order to stablize the economy.

The rapid increase in land values can be observed most clearly in the central areas of large cities, and this is also true for developed properties. However, it is almost impossible to provide any supporting data on land values compiled within the last five or ten years. The author has tried to compare land values in the old quarters of

Ankara for the years 1960 and 1971. This area is not the main central business district today, and it was clear that the increase in land values there was five to ten-fold, excluding the effects of inflation. In Istanbul the rate of increase should be much higher, since the influx of industrial and commercial establishments into the city is much more pronounced. At the same time, the increase in real estate values should be higher during 1950-1960 compared with the following decade, simply because of the economic policies followed in the two periods, and because of the partial success of the application of several measure curb land speculation after 1960.

Another related factor is the tearing down of relatively new buildings, twenty or twenty-five years old or less, and the construction of multi-storey apartments on their cleared sites. This phenomenon is the most striking unplanned renewal activity in large Turkish cities, and there is no control over these speculative efforts. Land speculators, in agreement with landowners, feel free to tear down buildings under irresistible pressure from rising land values.

CENTRAL-LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS

Turkey basically has three types of local authority. Two of them, the municipalities and the provincial local administrations, perform local services in urban areas. The jurisdiction of municipalities is limited to urban areas of villages with more than two thousand inhabitants, and the composition of their administrative organs is determined by direct elections. The jurisdiction of the provincial administrations coincides with the divisions of the central government--in other words, the province is both an administrative unit for the field organization of central government services, and the territory of local government authority which performs certain functions throughout the area. Provincial local administrations have an elected general council, but their chief executive officer is the provincial governor who is appointed by the central government.

The provincial governor's dual position is the most striking illustration of central government control over local administrations, the principle of which has never been challenged in Turkey. However, it should be stressed that not all types of local administration are subject to administrative control (or tutelage) to the same extent. The budgets and personnel cadres of provincial local administrations have to be approved by the central government. The same applies to municipalities, but in their case the agents of the central administrative authority only have the right to review certain decisions of the municipal council.

The managerial control of the central government still leaves the power with local authorities; for example, the agent of administrative tutelage has to approve, amend, or reject the decision of a local government organ within a certain time limit, but he cannot take independent action prior to the decision of the local authority. Yet when the municipal budget is presented to him for approval, the central government agent can add new items of expenditure for functions which he deems "compulsory" for a municipality, but which the municipal administration has not provided for in its budget. Even in this extreme case of "substitution", the provincial or sub-provincial governors are legally supposed to do nothing more than "amend" the original local government decision.

There is a specific provision in the Constitution dealing with the revenues of local governments. According to Article 116, "Local authorities shall be provided with sources of income proportionate to their functions." However, the adequacy of financial resources is a key question in local government in Turkey. Statistics show that provincial local administrations and muncipalities have to rely on aid from the central government budget, or on a share of national taxes, for about half their total expenditures. A draft law designed to revise the financial and functional relationships between the central and local governments, and between the various types of local government, has not yet been passed, although it was prepared a long time ago.

Investment resources for economic and social development in general are mainly allocated by the central government and through its field organization in urban areas. Taxing power on principle belongs to the National Assembly--the legislative branch--but for the time being various laws, such as the Municipal Revenues Act, enumerate taxes, duties, and fees that local authorities are empowered to impose. These are mostly collected in return for a service and are therefore not enough to support other services or to make new social and economic investments. Since many sources of municipal revenue are unsatisfactory, both quantatively and qualitatively, a new draft law has been prepared and submitted to Parliament.

However, it should not be forgotten that many muncipalities are not very strict in implementing the revenue laws and regulations for fear of antagonizing the local people and alienating voters.

THE BANK OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The important role of the Iller Bankasi (Bank of Local Authorities) should be mentioned. The Bank serves all local government units, but the municipalities are its main concern. It gives interest-bearing loans for capital construction, and technical assistance to municipalities by preparing projects that would otherwise require planning services too costly for local administrations. It is also responsible for the apportioning of shares allotted to municipalities from national revenues. Eighty per cent of these total shares are collected from various national taxes, such as income tax, corporations tax, net revenues of state monopolies, petroleum consumption tax , motor vehicle tax and traffic fines. These are divided among all the municipalities according to their populations, and the remaining 20 per cent goes into a special fund to help small municipalities (of 50,000 population or less) with interest-free loans.

Most of the time the Bank is a coordinator for the central government and local authorities, canalizing the assistance of the former, which means that it is an indirect assistance institution acting on behalf of the central government. The proportions of the Bank's financial assistance to the municipalities for investment during 1933-1970 is shown below:

Assistance of the Iller Bankasi to Municipalities

Type of Assistance	Per Cent
Mapping	2.3
Master Plans	1.1
Drinking water supply	33.1
Electrification	51.8
Construction and other projects	11.7

The central government assists the Bank by making transfers directly from its budget, and by postponing or guaranteeing the debts of municipalities. The amount of direct transfers is sometimes quite high, as may be seen from the total municipal budget figures for the last three years:

State Assistance to the Iller Bankasi

Year	Total Municipal Budgets (000 T.L.)	State Assistance the Bank (000 T.L.)	Per Cent
1969	592,408	127,100	21.5
1970	622,890	125,000	20.1
1971	774,110	210,000	27.1

METROPOLITANIZATION

Municipal boundaries seldom correspond with the actual urbanized area in large metropolitan regions. The two best examples of this in Turkey are Istanbul and Izmir, where there are ten to twenty-five small municipalities which cannot be separated physically or economically from the central metropolis, and this creates numerous administrative and planning problems. The following table is intended to show the population of the central municipalities and that of the actual urbanized areas:

	Population within City Boundaries	Population in Urbanized Areas
Istanbul	2,247,630	2,815,291 (23 municipalities)
Izmir	520,686	749,346 (18 municipalities)

Peripheral municipalities have close relationships with the central ones. The latter are responsible for all expenditures, and without a metropolitan government the surrounding municipalities and their inhabitants are not required to contribute to central muncipality expenditures for services. In Izmir and Istanbul the public transportation service to the surrounding urbanized areas is provided by central municipal buses. In some places, two sides of a street belong to two different muncipalities. The most important point is that the central muncipality cannot exercise any control over the development of surrounding muncipalities because they are outside its jurisdiction, and thus a great many industrial, commercial and residential establishments have been built without licenses on the peripheries of these cities. The surrounding small municipalities generally reject proposals to unite them with central municipality through some sort of annexation or consolidation because they do not want to give up their local autonomy.

Metropolitanization is not a problem exclusive to Izmir and Istanbul. Any city which grows beyond 100,000 population starts to face similar problems. Ankara, Konya, Adana, Bursa and Izmit have already had many administrative and planning problems stemming from metropolitanization on smaller scales. If the population of large cities increases so rapidly, land scarcity in the central area will force the incoming population to the peripheries. In Diyarbakir, Urfa, Elazig, Gaziantep and Maras, all cities of 100,000 population or more, the annual population increases were 6.9, 7.3, 7.6, 8.2 and 13.2 respectively during the last five years. In smaller cities like Karabuk, Batman and Kirikkale these rates were 7.2, 8.0 and 11.8 respectively. A significant portion of this increase takes place outside the formal municipal boundaries, especially in the form of squatter areas, a problem that will now be taken up.

PROBLEMS OF THE SQUATTER AREAS

Squatting is the most important settlement problem in Turkey. Istanbul, the primate city, first witnessed the construction of squatter houses in the 1940s, but the problem there is not in essence any different from that in other large cities of the country. Perhaps it could be said to differ from other cities in the size of the problem, and the occupational character of the city which is mainly industrial.

It is estimated that there are approximately 500,000 squatter houses in Turkey, and that the population living in them approaches 2.5 million. The average cost of these dwellings is about 7,000-8,000 T.L., which means that nearly four billion T.L. has been invested in them at current prices, excluding expenditures for the infrastructure, such as roads, sewage disposal, lighting, educational and health institutions, and transportation. The number of squatter houses in Ankara is 140,000, and in Istanbul 100,000. As a rough estimate, 20-25 per cent of the urban population in Turkey live in squatter areas, although the proportion varies from one city to another, as shown in the table below:

Squatter Houses in Large Cities

City	% of Squatter Houses in total housing stock	% of Inhabitants of the squatter houses in total urban population
Ankara	65	65
Istanbul	40	45
Izmir	25	35
Adana	49	45
Bursa	22	25
Samsun	41	36
Erzurum	40	35
Diyarbakir	13	20

The total squatter area in the whole of Turkey is as much as 25,000 hectares, but most of the squatter houses are concentrated in the largest three or four cities and in the provinces.

Distribution of Squatter Houses in Provinces

Provinces	Per Cent
Ankara	29.9
Istanbul	19.4
Izmir	11.6
Adana	5.8
Bursa	4.2
Other 62 provinces	21.1

Geographical Distribution of Squatter Houses

Region	Per Cent
Marmara	27.2
Central Anatolia	35.9
Mediterranean	12.9
Aegean	12.5
Black Sea	4.7
Eastern Anatolia	3.5
Southeastern Anatolia	3.3

The physical structure of squatter houses and their immediate environments are important aspects of the problem. Person/room ratios are much higher than in average urban dwellings, and the number of rooms per household is fewer in squatter houses than in conventional ones. For example, in Ankara the average person/room ratio is 1.5, while in squatter areas it is 2.4. The number of rooms per household is 2.8 in the city, while it is only 2 in the squatter areas.

Not only overcrowding in the dwellings, but also population density is extremely high in squatter areas. In Istanbul there are 320 persons per hectare in these areas, while there are only 250 in the relatively rich quarters. Similarly, in a squatter area of Istanbul the floor space area per person is 7.2 square meters, while it is 24.3 square meters in a rich part of the city. Almost all squatter areas have been formed haphazardly.

The families living in these areas show characteristic typical of transition of rural families to urban living. They are heterogenous communities. Family ties with their villages are still strong. Most people work in non-agricultural jobs, but the ratio of unemployed and under-employed workers is quite high.

Types of Employment in Squatter Areas

	Per Cent		Per Cent
Skilled workers	27.0	Government Official	14.5
Unskilled workers	11.5	Unemployed	3.5
Service workers	15.0	No answer	8.0
Tradesman	17.0	Unknown	1.5
Farmer	1.0	Total	100.0
Landowner	1.0		

The monthly income of squatter house inhabitants varies between 350 T.L. and 750 T.L., which is almost twice as high as the villagers' income. However, it should not be concluded from this observation that people living in squatter areas easily find secure and permanent job opportunities in the cities. The breakdown of their occupational structure indicates that many are engaged in small services as shoeshiners, bellboys, porters, etc., which can be classified as under-employment. The period that most of them work in a whole year does not exceed 200-250 days, so they represent the type of disguised unemployed or under-employed families of the Turkish villages, but transferred to large urban centers. The percentage of unskilled workers, together with the unemployed, is about 15 per cent in the Ankara squatter areas, and with the addition of small service jobs, this increases to 17.3 per cent. In several Ankara, Izmir, Istanbul squatter areas this ratio goes as high as 25, 50 or even 70 per cent.

A survey made in 1966 revealed that in cities of 100,000 population and over, the percentages of unemployed squatter families varied between 6.9 and 8.9 per cent. Detailed results of this survey are as follows:

Unemployed in Squatter Areas of Large Cities
(in Percentages)

Istanbul	7.4	Eskisehir	7.5
Ankara	7.2	Bursa	6.9
Izmir	7.9	Kayseri	8.9
Adana	8.1	Gaziantep	8.9

The picture of the squatter areas from the standpoint of urban public services is not comparable with the modern parts of the cities. According to Ministry of Reconstruction figures, in the whole of Turkey, 52 per cent of all squatter houses are without electricity, 49 per cent are without running water, and 60 per cent are without sewage disposal. In the opinion of 82 per cent of squatter inhabitants, the most important problem for these areas is the installation of municipal services.

Families living in squatter houses are much more frequently literate than are villagers but the literacy rate and level of education is still considerably lower than that of the inhabitants of more affluent sections of the cities. For example, the inhabitants of the squatter housing areas of Gulveren and Cincin have a literacy rate which is 6.4 per cent lower for men, and 22.7 per cent for women, than that for the province of Ankara. In the squatter areas of Ankara, 257 primary schools are needed, but there are only 49 today. The inadequacy of public services is equally clear in the field of health. In the city of Istanbul, 159 in 100,000 were reported to have had infectious diseases in one year, and reported diseases from a typical squatter area (Sagmalcilar) numbered 356 in 1966. This is also where about sixty people died of cholera in 1970.

Another problem for squatter areas is that of the right of ownership, guaranteed by Article 36 of the Turkish Constitution. Squatter houses are built entirely on other people's building sites, as the definition of a squatter house excludes buildings erected on one's own land, even when they are constructed in violation of the building laws. Therefore, in all cases of squatter houses, the primary source of conflict is that they are constructed on illegally occupied land. It is estimated that there are almost 100,000 land ownership conflicts waiting to be solved in the Turkish courts.

As mentioned above, approximately 35 per cent of all squatter houses are constructed on building sites belonging to private individuals. The remaining ones are built on public land belonging to the municipalities, provincial local administrations, the State or the Pious Endowments (Vakiflar).

Another important aspect of the squatter problem is the percentage of home owners. Fifty-five to 65 per cent of all squatter houses are owned by the families that live in them, which means that 35 to 45 per cent are rented, and therefore owned by others. Since the beginning of Turkey's squatter problem, a new occupation has emerged--that of building illegal dwellings and selling or renting them to needy families. The percentage of such rented houses reaches 50 to 60 per cent in some areas of Ankara and Istanbul, and there are people who own more than one, sometimes even three or four of them.

The policy for squatter housing in the First Five-Year Development Plan intended to prevent, improve, or eliminate them, but it could not be implemented because of the failure to establish an effective mechanism to do so, and failure to provide the required financial resources. In the Second-Five Year Plan the problem of squatter houses is taken up within the housing sector as a whole. "It will be solved by making the prevention of new squatter houses a priority, and by assisting people who wish to build their own houses. Efforts will be made to prevent the problem of land ownership in squatter areas from being detrimental to the future expansion of cities."

The major principles of the policy on squatter areas can be found in the Squatter Houses (Gecekondu) Law of 1966 (No. 775) which has a threefold objective. The first is the prevention of squatter house construction. The preventive measures of the law can be grouped in two categories short-term prevention and long-term prevention. The former requires tearing down all squatter houses constructed after the promulgation of the law, for which the municipal police are assisted by the State patrol at the request of mayors. This measure has clearly not proved successful because in Ankara alone, 40,000 new squatter houses have been built since 1966, although the new law forbids it.

Long-term prevention has a more indirect character. Certain areas are designated for the settlement of the incoming population, and land is bought or expropriated, then parcelled out and allotted to the applicants after the installation of infrastructural facilities, with technical assistance and building credits extended in line with the supplementary housing finance policies.

When the Law on Squatter Houses was passed, two Squatter Housing Funds were established. One is under control of the Ministry of Reconstruction, the other under the municipalities concerned. Through these, a system of housing finance has been created which obtains most of its resources from public funds, and is oriented to the needs of low income families. Thus, as well as allocating dwellings to people whose squatter houses are to be cleared for safety or for planning purposes, and giving renovation and rehabilitation credits, the bulk of the existing funds are channelled towards urban migrants who are willing to build their own houses on building sites allocated to them in accordance with the standards set by the Ministry. All credits obtained from this fund are repayable in twenty years with no more than 5 per cent interest, and the owners of houses built with the assistance or with subsidies from public agencies are not authorized to sell their houses.

The second principle of squatter housing policy is the improvement of squatter houses and squatter areas as a whole. Here the necessary social, economic, and especially physical, infrastructural activities are extended to the existing squatter housing areas, with the aim of improving the living conditions and standards of the population.

Finally comes the principle of clearance of specific areas which lie in the path of city growth and thus cause an unbalanced urban pattern. For this, squatter houses are cleared through the removal of the population to a designated relocation area. Those subject to clearance include any that encircle historic buildings and monuments. The Five-Year Development Plans only foresee the removal of squatter houses that present a real threat to the safety, health, and morals of their inhabitants. It has been estimated that the number of dwellings which are habitable is 35 per cent of the total. It should be noted, however, that the chance of carrying out the clearance principle is limited to much less than 65 per cent, since according to the Plant', the inhabitants must be provided with other accommodations prior to the removal of their houses, and the inadequacy of resources makes this very unlikely.

The law of 1966 tried to legalize the squatter houses and squatter areas already built. It empowered the municipalities to give land titles to the owners of house built on public land, and at the same time provided that they should benefit from urban public services. As a result, contributions from the inhabitants of squatter areas have become a normal requirement, as they are in other parts of the cities. However, these contributions for municipal expenditures can be paid in installments so low-income families are not harmed.

As a final point it should be noted that the money spent out of the above-mentioned funds has amounted to 150 million T.L., which is an extremely small amount considering the scope of the squatter problem in Turkey. A detailed account of these expenditures follows:

Expenditures for Squatter Areas
(in percentages)

Public housing	25.5
Road construction	20.3
Water supply	14.3
Electrification	19.9
Sewage disposal	3.1
Expropriation	16.1
Technical assistance	0.9
Total	100.0

There is no officially recognized slum problem in Turkey, because its importance is negligible compared with other housing problems. In the old quarters of large cities socially outmoded buildings present certain characteristics of slum. In Ankara, these areas include only 4 per cent of the total population, 1.5 per cent of the land covered by the master plan, and 0.8 per cent of the land within the municipal boundaries. Slum-like areas in other large cities occupy 1 to 10 per cent of the total area.

The population density in these quarters is around 300-350 per hectare, compared with a density which reaches as much as 650 in most of the squatter areas. From this point of view the old quarters cannot be regarded as typical slums. The person/room ratio is also lower than in squatter houses, and the percentage of single room dwellings is 20 per cent in the former compared to 28 per cent in the latter. One of the most important criteria in separating slum from non-slum houses is the percentage of home ownership. In this respect, in the city of Ankara the old quarters are much more slum-like than in other places. For instance, percentage of tenant families in Ankara is 52.2, while it is generally 31 per cent in squatter areas and 72.6 per cent in the so-called slum settlements.* This is one indication that the inhabitants of these areas do not regard their homes as permanent.

With respect to occupational and income characteristics, the families living in the old city differ from those in squatter houses. In the latter, there are no families with a monthly income over 1,000 T.L., while the percentage of families in this category in the old quarters is 20 per cent. The majority of the labor force in squatter areas consists of workers, mostly unskilled, while in the old city more than half of the working population are either tradesmen or small government officials.

In most of the old quarters there are historic buildings and monuments, especially mosques, bazaars, khans and caravanserais. Together with these, the existence of dwellings that reflect the character of a historical period sometimes creates a significant policy problem of conservation and restoration. Central and local governments have no slum clearance policy whatsoever, since there are no slums in the Western sense of the word.

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* Rusen Keles, Eski Ankars'da Bir Sehir Tipolojisi (An Urban Typology of Old Ankara). Faculty of Political Science, Ankara, 1971

MINORITIES

There are no special urban problems created by the presence of minority groups, yet the role of group identity is important in most squatter settlements because the migrants come into an unfamiliar, confusing environment. Job security in an underdeveloped country does not exist to the degree known in industrial states. There is no unemployment compensation, no easy bank loans, and no relief programs, but only insecurity of home and property.

Identity groups in squatter settlements provide security by employing their members as additional labor for constructing houses, as a means of protecting their property. The inhabitants of each squatter area are mostly migrants from the same village or neighboring villages. Other groups that seem to settle together include Circassians, Balkan refugees, Kurds, members of various religious sects, etc.

Quarters where particular minority groups are located sometimes bear the name of the group, but urban minorities have never presented the problems observed in other countries. Greek Orthodox families live side by side with Armenians and Muslims in many districts of Istanbul, Ninety per cent of the total population speaks Turkish as its mother tongue, and of the remaining 10 per cent, 7.1 per cent speak Kurdish and 1.1 per cent speak Arabic. These chief minorities, especially the Kurdish-speaking people, live in rural areas, and only 2 per cent of the population in settlements of 10,000 population or more speak either Arabic or Kurdish. Seventy-five per cent of the Kurdish speaking population live in twelve provinces in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. Large cities with big Kurdish-speaking populations are Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Maras and Urfa, with the highest number in Urfa (15 per cent) and Diyarbakir (10 per cent).

PUBLIC WORKS

The government has not considered any program of public works, including urban public services, as a means of providing employment to unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. The employment problem is handled nationally, at the central level, while the provision of urban infrastructures is partly central and partly local. Although most of the unskilled laborers are engaged in low quality construction enterprises, these are privately operated and are not officially planned programs. Income generation rather than employment is their major purpose.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The village is the smallest administrative unit with a definite boundary, and is defined as a locality whose population is under 2,000. In the village, the economic structure is primarily dependent on agriculture, and social relations exist which are peculiar to this. The number of rural settlements in Turkey is 35,441. Almost 60 per cent of all the villages have populations between 150 and 500; 71.9 per cent are compact units, while 11.8 per cent are slightly spread out, and in 15.5 per cent the dwelling units are far apart from one another. Seven million villagers, 20 per cent of the total population, live either in forest areas or on the edges of forests. The percentage of peasants without land (sharecroppers, or tenants) is almost 30 per cent of all rural families. The unjust distribution of land, especially in certain regions, is of a semi-feudal nature, and the very low annual per capita income makes living in villages unbearable for poor rural families.

Only 30 per cent of the rural population is literate, and children who graduate from village elementary schools rarely have the opportunity to attend higher level schools. Almost 20,000 rural families live in such shelters as tents and caves; of the existing dwellings, 59 per cent are sturdy, 24 per cent are repairable, and 17 per cent are dilapidated. Half the dwellings have flat roofs covered with clay and earth, and glass windows, while 200,000 have no windows at all. The great majority of village dwellings lack the simplest facitities for taking a bath, 30 per cent of all rural settlements lack drinking water, and only 35 per cent benefit from electricity.

Village administrations are not capable of carrying out the services envisaged by the Village Law, which stipulates that services are to be rendered by the villages with their own resources, or with those provided to them. The requirements of rural communities are increasing parallel with their social and economic development, and the fact that the services for which local authorities are responsible have not been organized in a manner consistent with present day conditions tends to increase the central government's responsibility. At present, there are more than thirty-five departments in Ankara performing various functions concerning villages, with about 70,000 government officials working in activities connected with them. According to the First Five-Year Development Plan, the lack of coordination between all these departments was responsible for the failure of rural development in Turkey. In addition, the state has not taken any measures to ensure public participation in development activities. The provision and function of rural services are left entirely up to the government agencies, without any participation by the local people whatever.

In the light of past experience, community development appears to rely on the principle of combining village and government facilities. In the First Five-Year Plan, comminity development was considered "one of the best methods of achieving long-term planned development, and creating conditions conducive to the growth of the community structure and promoting the right values in the people." The Plan expected the villagers to recognize their needs, to organize themselves to satisfy them, and to induce the government to help them, but no nationwide program was projected.

Several experimental projects have been carried out in various parts of the country, but with the establishment of the Ministry of Village Affairs in 1963, all pilot projects for community development were discontinued.

In the field of community development, the main objectives of the First Five-Year Plan were to develop local initiative, to raise productivity in agriculture, to increase the efficiency of the administration of rural services, to decrease the cost of these services through voluntary contributions from the local people, to utilize surplus labor fully through special programs with labor intensive projects, and to eliminate the problems inherent in the distribution of villages, which are scattered small units. Although the phenomenon of structural change was mentioned briefly, there was no reference in the First Plan either to the present or to the future structure of rural areas. Therefore the problem was conceived as one of community development, which is a highly unrealistic way of analyzing Turkey's village problem.

The analysis on which the Second Five-Year Plan is based is more realistic than that of the First in the sense that it draws attention to the socio-economic aspects of rural problems and considers the phenomenon of change. Until recently, the provision of basic public services, including electricity and drinking water, was considered the primary problem of rural development, but in the Second Five-Year Plan the problem is discussed as a matter of land-man relationships, which is a positive step in the direction of changing attitudes. The idea of the First Plan to change the rural structure by community development has been excluded in the Second Plan, which instead expects the development of entrepreneurial power to take care of structural change. This is outlined under the heading "Programs for the development of initiative in small social units."

The Second Plan is better developed than the First, in that it gives a correct diagnosis of the problems related to the period of transition from a semi-feudal system to a modern, industrial one. However, it lacks the courage and determination to bring about the necessary policy measures for the acceleration and control of this transitional period. It seems to fail to realize that what is necessary to bring about basic change in the rural structure is a deliberately planned effort at the national level.

Experience with the two development plans made it clear that the villagers are eager to cooperate with government officials, and to contribute substantially to the projects which would improve their social and economic conditions, but the necessary government support has not been adequately provided. The sub-provinces, the major administrative unit for rural development lack the necessary funds, personnel and equipment, and village administrations are not development-oriented. Besides, any coordination achieved at the sub-provincial level is paralyzed at higher levels.

Secondly, it was understood that community development could not be used as an effective method in dealing with rural problems unless it was accompanied by other measures directed at ensuring structural changes in the economy. For instance, community development has no appeal to the landless peasant or to those without sufficient land. On the contrary, voluntary contributions would mean an additional burden on those who already have no food to eat.

Lastly, it became clear that community development could only be used as a development method if basic reforms and reorganizations were made in the structures well as in the administration of the villages. Structural improvements such as land reform, improvement of the agricultural credit system, educational reforms, tax reform, and administrative reorganization at all levels are therefore preconditions for socio-economic changes in rural areas.

PUBLIC OPINION AND ECOLOGY

Public opinion as represented by the state radio and T.V. and by daily newspapers is especially concerned with prolems of ecology, and in the effects of urbanization upon the total environment. Since any definition of public opinion in developing nations is difficult to arrive at because of the generally low literacy level of the population, it can be assumed that only intellectuals in large cities are interested in ecology, while the majority of the population is ignorant of these problems.

To those who are interested, the major topics of concern are the increase in the number of squatter houses and their occupation on the outskirts of large metropolitan areas, and the loss of scenic beauty and recreational value on the Bosphorus through the haphazard expansion of industrial establishments. The decision to establish a shipyard on the Marmara coast between Istanbul and Izmir was a subject of discussion in the press for quite a long time, and another important matter which concerned public opinion has been the preservation and conservation of coastal areas and historic buildings. The keen interest of both the public and members of Parliament has led to a draft law being submitted to Parliament, to expropriate all coastal land, to prevent land speculation, and to allow no private ownership in these areas.

Because of the lack of public opinion polls it is difficult to assess whether the public attitude is generally in favor of urban growth or not. Apart from a few planners and economists who view the problems of urbanization exclusively from the standpoint of economic efficiency, it is generally agreed that rural-urban migration is unavoidable and necessary. However, the further growth of large cities causes a deterioration in the quality of life for those who already live in them, and increases the dangers of social unrest.

Differences in income and in the quality of services between various parts of such large cities as Istanbul and Ankara do not encourage the opinion that rapid urbanization is a good thing. However, surveys made on rural migrants in urban centers show that they consider themselves to have a right to live in cities, that they do not intend to return to their villages, and that their primary concerns are only to obtain ownership rights to their squatter houses, to benefit adequately from municipal services, and to find secure jobs in the cities.

Both the government and those who direct public opinion are concerned with urbanization as a special problem, although the government is not ready to make any important sacrifices to solve it as far as the allocation of financial resources is concerned. According to the author, this is a contradiction, since the official government policy as formulated in the First and Second Five-Year Development Plans is to encourage urbanization. Although the government does not consider increasing infrastructural investments, it also does not believe that urbanization is a natural phenomenon that will take care of itself, and it therefore tries to find planned solutions to problems associated with urbanization, and especially with metropolitanization.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

The major agencies for international assistance operating in Turkey are the U.N., U.S.A.I.D. and O.E.C.D. Other multiateral agencies such as NATO, CENTO and RCD have defense as well as developmental objectives. The activities of all these agencies are limited by their status, and urbanization problems are only an indirect preoccupation of those concerned with economic development, such as U.S.A.I.D. and O.E.C.D. They can be active in the field of urbanization either by partly financing some of the overhead projects provided by the development plans, or by assisting institutions which are interested in urbanization.

So far most of the international assistance agencies have contributed to the training of planners, public administrators and other government personnel who spend all or part of their time in the field of urbanization. Some have organized international seminars where the problems of urbanization and the role of local governments in national development are discussed. The government of Turkey contributes to most of the agencies.

ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS

The real per capita income in Turkey is around 3,000 T.L. ($300), and in terms of 1965 prices, the Gross National Product in 1970 was 101,807 million T.L. Although the planned target for the annual growth rate was 7 per cent, that realized was 6.4 per cent, and it fluctuated betwen 4.6 and 8.8 per cent between 1962 and 1966. No per capita national income figures by geographic region or by various type of settlement are available. However, based on a research report prepared in 1963, the per capita real income could be said to be index 61 for rural areas as against 192 for urban areas, assuming the average for Turkey to be 100.*

A comparison between per capita agricultural and non-agricultural incomes may give an approximate idea of the per capita rural and urban incomes, and of different rates of increase.

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* Gulten Kazgan, Level of Living in the Turkish Economy with Special Reference to Interspatial and Intertemporal Comparisons, Mimeo, Istanbul, November, 1963.

Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Income in Turkey[*]

(1955-1965)

	1955		1960		1965
Labor force	12,205,272		12,993,245		13,557,860
National income (million T.L.)	36,439.4		44,358.7		56,121.5
Per capita income (T.L.)	2,985.5		3,414.0		4,139.4[**]
Increase (T.L.)		428.5		725.4	
Agricultural population	9,446,102		9,737,489		9,750,269
Share of the agricultural sector in the GNP (million T.L.)	15,276.4		19,238.1		20,813.7
Per capita agricultural income (T.L.)	1,617.2		1,975.7		2,134.7
Increase (T.L.)		358.5		159.0	
Non-Agricultral population	2,759,170		3,255,576		3,807,591
Share of the non-agricultural sectors in the GNP (million T.L.)	21,631.0		25,120.6		35,307.7
Per capita non-agricultural income (T.L.)	7,839.7		7,715.8		9,273.0
Increase (T.L.)		-124.0		1,557.2	

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[*] The national income figures at current prices were used, and were adjusted to 1960 prices.

[**] This is real income per economically active population.

As can be seen from the above table, the non-agricultural sectors as a whole are more productive than the agricultural sector. In fact, during the period 1960--1965 the per capita non-agricultural income was almost four times larger than the agricultural, and the increase in the former was eight times larger than in the latter.

The share of investments in the G.N.P., which was 16.3 per cent in 1963, rose to 18 per cent in 1966, and it is estimated that it will rise from 19.9 per cent in 1967 to 24.3 per cent in 1972. During the First Five-Year Development Plan (1962--1967), investments in the sectors directly related to urbanization, such as manufacturing, energy, transportation, housing and services, represented 66.6 per cent of the total resources available for investment, with housing having the largest share (20.4 per cent) of the total investment, followed by manufacturing (18.7 per cent). The sum total investment during the Second Five-Year Plan period could be around 13.5 billion. A slight change has taken place in the Second Plan with respect to the priorities for the allocation of resources to different sectors. Now the manufacturing industries come first, with a percentage of 24.3 per cent, while the housing sector has second priority with 20.4 per cent.

Urban population projections show that the ratio of urban to total population will reach 50 per cent in the coming decade or two, and that the yearly increase will be around one million. This means that 420,000 people out of a million will be economically active, and will look for non-agricultural employment opportunities. It is also estimated that roughly 50,000 T.L. will be needed by current price standards to create employment for one urban worker in the manufacturing sector, including infrastructural expenditures. Thus an annual 21 billion T.L. will be required to absorb the rural migrants without increasing unemployment, which makes 105 billion T.L. over five years. It should be realized that this amount (95 per cent of the total) is an extremely high figure, and it create several problems for the economy.

First of all, by encouraging rapid urbanization, the government will be deprived of some of the resources which could otherwise be entirely used for development purposes. Secondly, the country's balance of payments problem could be made worse by the application of such a policy, because the funds available for the establishment of export industries or import substitution industries would have to be spend on solving settlement problems. Finally, almost all such investments would be made in the four or five major cities which receive the largest portion of population increase, so the government would be unable to ensure a relative balance in the geographical distribution of investment resources by reducing regional inequalities.

Although local authorities allocate funds for investment in fields related to urbanization, over 65 per cent of these goes to such current expenditures as personnel salaries instead of toward investment. It may therefore be assumed that none of the local authorities in Turkey can adequately meet the needs or perform the functions which are accentuated by rapid urbanization, even were they provided with the additional funds proposed by various draft laws concerning local revenues.

The assistance of the Iller Bankasi, which finances municipal services together with the Real Estate Bank which sponsors the construction of social housing, does not exceed 2.7 billion T.L. annually, which is no more than 2 per cent of all urbanization investments.

It seems that neither central nor local funds are sufficient to meet the investment requirements for urbanization. The savings of individuals are not an appropriate source because the propensity to consume is quite high in both rural and urban areas of the country. However, the government is now trying to direct families' small savings into social housing, although the Development Plan does not give high priority to the allocation of resources for the housing sector. A law passed in 1964 encourages Turkish workers in European countries to bring their savings home, by providing various incentives for those who consider investing in the housing sector.

Foreign capital may to some extent be useful in providing the major infrastructures of large cities, and the Iller Bankasi or large municipalities may be interested in receiving such assistance. However, since the long-term objective of the country is to provide the economy with a structure which would allow it to sustain a 7 per cent annual growth rate on its own resources without recourse to foreign aid,[*] the chance of attracting foreign capital for infrastructural purposes does not seem promising to the author, since it would be in contradiction to the principles of the Development Plan.

CONCLUSIONS

1. According to projections, in the near future the rate of urbanization in Turkey will increase even more than it has in the past. It is estimated that the urban population will reach 25 million in the next fifteen years, and that half the population will be living in urban areas by that time. The annual rate of urbanization will be 6 to 7 per cent, and the absolute annual increase in the urban population will be around one million. A growing proportion of the urban population will be concentrated in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more, and a few major cities will grow into very large metropolitan areas of one to five million. The land reform

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[*] S.P.O., _Second Five-Year Development Plan, 1968-1972_, pp. 5 and 47-48.

which is now in the process of formulation is not intended to keep the agricultural population on the land, nor would it be capable of realizing such an objective.

2. Even today some of the problems of large cities have not been solved satisfactorily. This is partly because of the inadequacy of resources allocated to urban problems by the central and local governments, and partly because of the lack of qualified personnel. A national urbanization policy based both on economic resources and on long-range projections has never existed in Turkey. It is reasonable to expect that urban problems will become even greater in the future than they are at present--land scarcity, the housing shortage, overcrowding, squatter houses, the inadequacy of major municipal services such as city roads, drinking water, electricity and transportation, nutrition, health and education will continue to be the most serious. Although the lack of financial resources is responsible for the majority of this inadequacy, it cannot be concluded that this is the only determining factor.

3. Metropolitan problems will necessitate the establishment of metropolitan governments in the country, and therefore a revision of central-local functional and financial relationships, as well as a revision of the structure of local governments will be needed. Under the heavy financial burdens caused by the country's economic development, the central government cannot be expected to allocate increasing

funds to the solution of urban problems. Local authorities will therefore have to look elsewhere for additional sources of revenue.

4. Regional inequalities in the distribution of real income and in the quality of urban public services will continue to exist, or even increase, because of the attraction to the largest urban centers which are mostly located in the western portion of the country in question. The policy of encouraging the development of growth centers throughout the country--a policy which might actually help the situation--has not so far been successfully carried out. Even if it were implemented properly, it would not be easy to achieve a relatively more balanced urban system, because of the unavoidable growth of large metropolises in the west.

Regionalization should not consist of distributing poverty evenly between various geographic regions, but of distributing wealth and development everywhere. This can only be realized by establishing basic industries in major regional centers, and not by dispersing public service investments only. Finally, a development policy for backward regions, such as Eastern Anatolia, which are in the earlier stages of economic development, may have an adverse influence upon the rate of economic growth and may not, therefore, be justified on the grounds of economic efficiency alone. Surveys do not disprove this argument. However, on the other side of the coin, equity considerations do play an important role in shaping the government's policy concerning backward regions. From this viewpoint Turkish governments will not be given the opportunity to close their eyes to the development demands of at least six million people living in the Eastern and Southeastern regions.

5. The socio-economic development plans prepared so far have placed most emphasis on industrialization on a self-sustained basis, and therefore priorities given to investments in manufacturing industries have made it practically imperative to reduce housing investments and the installation of urban infrastructures gradually in favor of economic overheads. Urban infrastructures, including housing investments, are generally regarded as non-productive, but to what extent the demands of the urban masses will reverse this attitude has yet to be seen.

6. Urbanization in Turkey does not differ greatly from rapid population movements in other developing nations, and the causes and results of the urbanization process are very similar in all of them, as are the pace at which it takes place, the direction, and the geographical characteristics. However, the policies to be followed depend on the special conditions of each country, such as the administrative structure, manpower, and economic resources. From this standpoint, few of the techniques developed in industrialized countries seem to be applicable to the problem of urbanization in developing ones.

According to an index constructed to demonstrate the relationship between urbanization and economic development,* Turkey is ranked close to the end of a list of many developing countries. This means that the rapid urbanization of the country is not justified by its economic development--a situation which is called "hyper-urbanization" or "pseudo-urbanization" by some Western scholars. Since it is not possible to turn the tide and stop rural to urban migration, the only alternative seems to be the industrialization of the country, which might, in the long run, strike a balance between urbanization and development.

It is likely that the reader of this report may be left wondering why various policies concerning urbanization were not implemented. The reasons for this can be classified in several groups.

1. One set of considerations is administrative. At all levels, the personnel responsible for solving the problems of urbanization are either insufficient in number or inadequately trained. Most of the large cities lack qualified personnel trained in technical fields and urban management. The great majority of municipal personnel in this country, including mayors, are only primary school graduates, and at higher levels, few planners possess the necessary technical skills which are required to help in formulating and imple-

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* Ratio of urban population per capita to real income.

menting urbanization policies.

The government as a whole is poorly organized to guide and direct development either in metropolitan regions or in backward areas. On one hand, as in all developing nations, the institutional structure is not capable of adapting itself automatically to the changing needs created by the development process, while on the other, the social, economic, and physical aspects of urban problems need the kind of comprehensive treatment which today seems impossible to realize because of divided jurisdiction in government agencies. The way in which responsibilities are divided among national, regional and local government agencies complicates the problem, and the lack of coordination and collaboration becomes significant, as can be seen, for example, in the relationship of the S.P.O. with the Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Reconstruction. Effective communication as an instrument of coordination from the central planning authorities downwards, and from the local level to the center, is also non-existent.

2. The second set of considerations is of a technical nature. It is known that Turkey's experience in urban and regional planning and development, and the central government's concern with these matters, are quite new and do not go back further than ten or fifteen years. Even in developed countries, a large number of planners are unware of recent developments in the concepts and techniques of planning.

The existence of a time-lag in the transfer of urban technology, coupled with delays in training qualified planners, are important limiting factors.

At the same time, the value of efforts to adopt Western planning techniques without major modifications to adapt them to local conditions is questionable. Several specific examples may shed light on this point. For instance, the techniques of cost-benefit analysis, systems analysis, planning-progamming-budgeting systems, the establishment of data banks and urban informations systems, and sophisticated plan evaluation techniques, are presently in fashion in planning circles. It may be argued, however, that planners encounter serious difficulties in applying these to developing countries, The use of the analytical techniques developed in Western countries can be likened to Raanan Weitz', "pincers used by watchmakers for handling tiny fragile parts when the job at hand needs the simple, and direct use of hands. Pincers could not help clear a field of stones." Insistence on their use may, therefore, result in the wasted expenditure of time, resources and energy.

There are practical as well as theoretical reasons for this argument; people who know how to employ these techniques are scare, while the availability and reliability of data do not permit the realization of such aims. There are also fundamental theoretical reasons. It is commonly assumed that the price of an input represents the marginal cost of producing and delivering it. This assumption is shaky, however, in a developing economy where price mechanisms are more capricious, the economy is less integrated, and money is a less certain medium. Secondly, in a developing economy, though a project will start from a small economic basis, it is likely to become large and have profound structural effects which make the application of cost-benefit techniques more difficult.

It is likely that the quality of planning could be greatly improved, even without using sophisticated analytical tools, simply by the provision of a better informational environment which would give a basis for sound decisions. Better utilization of existing facilities and procedures, rather than an immediate move toward large-scale computerization, seems to be more realistic.

Another example is concerned with location theory. The assumptions of the classical theory relating to unlimited managerial resources, full information, predictability of the future, and "all other things being equal" are unsuited to developing nations.

A third example is the North American experience in urban renewal progress, the primary drive of which is the replacement of old, worn out, or functionally obsolete buildings by new construction. It should be recognized, however, that there is a need to conserve the housing stock, however poor, as shelter for the lowest-income families. This is very important for underdeveloped countries with limited resources.

The final example has to do with metropolitan planning; the type that is required for developing nations must be directed to such objectives as income growth, full employment, improved consumption patterns, and increases in human potential. This concept of metropolitan planning is complex, and much broader than the city planning that has to date been attempted in North America and Europe. Both a new type of planner and simpler planning techniques designed for the needs of developing nations therefore seem to be necessary.

3. The third group of reasons includes economic and financial considerations. Economic planners in Turkey, as elsewhere, have tried to limit urban overhead investment to the minimum on the grounds of its low productivity. They argue that limited resources should be allocated to more "productivity" activities, and that once production and income have increased, the conditions in urban areas will automatically improve. This postponement is unrealistic, and the present situation in Turkey can be called "paradoxical," since the practice contradicts official urbanization policies which favor further urbanization in the hope that it will contribute to the social and economic development of the country.

Besides this, it is still true to say that the central government is dependent on foreign aid for the implementation of national development plans. The rapid population increase, with a growing propensity to consume, makes it practically impossible to give priority to urban infrastructural investments, even though local authorities, which are financially weak and can barely meet their current expenditures, are to a large extent dependent on the central government for large-scale investment projects. Mobilization of local resources involves both a radical change in the ownership structure of urban land, and in the attitudes of local people towards participation in urban and regional development.

4. Finally come the political considerations. It should always be remembered that the art of planning, and the integration of planning and its implementation in particular, are not simply technical, administrative or financial. The role of partisan politics is important at both the central and the local levels, but is more effective in the latter. Mayors and municipal councils are the elected local authorities, and they cannot be expected to cope adequately with the problems of their cities when the influence of powerful groups of landowners is clearly reflected in most of their decisions.

From another viewpoint, although there are no great differences between the opinions of the existing political parties regarding such problems as housing, land speculation, urban public services, metropolitan planning, and the development of backward regions, certain socio-psychological factors, such as personal rivalries and the desire to do something novel and different, render unstable the implementation of urbanization policies at various levels.

In conclusion, the source of the problems can be said to lie in the socio-economic level of development of the country. Piecemeal analysis of particular problems is not a satisfactory approach to the formulation of adequate and realistic policies. The present nature and condition of cities is largely a sympton of the economic and social development of the nation. From this viewpoint, the above sets of considerations are closely interrelated in a circular causation process, as conceptualized by Gunnar Myrdal.

A coherent set of national policies for the amelioration of the present social, economic and physical urban problems, and a conscious allocation of national resources for this purpose, is essential. Planning ability is, after all, a matter of experience, cultural development, and the socio-economic and political systems. Several suggestions may, however, be made here.

It is important to train sufficient staff for the most urgent problems, and administrative and technical personnel should be taught modern methods of management for various specialized urban functions. Emphasis should be placed on professional education, which should be conducted primarily in this country. Special courses and seminars, and even degree programs abroad designed exclusively for the needs of developing nations, like that at M.I.T., might be suggested for promising students.

Immediate-action programming for the most pressing problems should be coupled with long-range programming, with a broad national and regional perspective. The development of the planning and implementation mechanism should include the reorganization of the local government structure, and the revision of central-local relationships. The establishment of a Committee for Intergovernmental Relations, similar to that in the United States, may be helpful not only in working out the principles of reorganization, but also in advising local authorities. Since the central government preponderates in local activities, it is necessary to place greater emphasis on financial and technical assistance to local authorities in the form of advice, training, research, and the exchange of information in order to increase their ability to perform their functions.

It is a necessity for the large urban regions to establish permanent organization with surrounding municipalities to form some sort of metropolitan government. The Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Reconstruction should also set up branches all over the country, since regional plans can only be put into force if they are managed and directed by a Regional Development Authority; these should include representatives of the concerned central ministries and agencies, operating in the region instead of in land head offices in the capital. The relationships between the S.P.O., and the Regional Planning Department should be revised, and a single central agency should assume all responsibility for regional planning. Duplication of functions must be avoided.

It is the opinion of the author that the increase in the number of small municipalities should be stopped, and that their respective settlements should be consolidated within larger urban units. This might also help the revival of small-and medium-sized towns. The mayors of large cities should not be elected, but appointed by the government, and the use of the city manager system should be considered, at least for certain categories of towns. The abolition of provincial local administrations (Ozel Idare) which were adopted from Continental Europe, could also be considered in order to strengthen the municipalities, since most provincial functions have long since been taken over by municipalities. Capital budgeting and programming methods for urban services should be developed, and realistic performance standards, corresponding to economic conditions, should be set up, together with priorities for urban services. A well-designed urban data system, within reach of local planning authorities, is a precondition of rational action. This need cannot be separated from that of setting up a national urban and regional research center which would prepare, coordinate, and encourage research activities in the country.

A final suggestion is concerned with the rational use of urban land. Since the most direct solution to the misuse of urban land is nationalization, an urban land reform policy parallel to that of agricultural land would seem attractive. However, if the principles of the prevailing economic system are not favorable to such a radical move, hopes for the establishment of public ownership of all urban land would be unrealistic. Therefore every possible measure should be taken to prevent land speculation, and to increase the land stocks of the local authorities.

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